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AN
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF
IRELAND,
FROM THE
INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY
INTO THAT COUNTRY,
TO THE YEAR MDCCCXXIX.

BY THE
REV. M. J. BRENAN, O.S.F.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.



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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

IRELAND.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Contentions between the Sees of Armagh and Dublin relative to the Primacy—National Colleges of Dublin and Drogheda—Suppression of the Knights Templars—Sufferings of the Irish Nation—Letter of John XXII to Edward II, King of England—Richard Ledred, Bishop of Ossory—Heretical doctrines introduced into that Diocese—Epistle of Benedict XII to Edward III—Exemption of the See of Ossory from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Dublin—Bull of exemption—Revival of the jurisdiction of Dublin over Ossory—Richard Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh—His nine conclusions against the Mendicant Orders—Notorious Statutes of Kilkenny.

The ecclesiastical events of this century are so closely connected with the proceedings of the Archiepiscopal See of Dublin, that the chain of succession in that diocese as well as the acts of its prelates must be distinctly kept in view and treated of with particular attention. On the death of Richard de Ferings, John Lech, Almoner to Edward II, was advanced to the Archiepiscopal See in 1310. This promotion was exclusively the work of the King himself; the old controversy

between the Cathedrals of St. Patrick and Christ Church not having been even now effectually set at rest.* It had, however, after this period been altogether abandoned, but was immediately succeeded by another question of still more serious importance between the Archiepiscopal Sees of Dublin and Armagh relative to the Primacy. It has been already stated, that Henry de Loundres, Archbishop of Dublin, had obtained from Honorius III a bull, prohibiting "any Archbishop or other Prelate of Ireland (except the suffragans of Dublin and the Pope's Legate) from having the cross carried before them, holding assemblies (those of the religious orders excepted) or treating of ecclesiastical causes in the Province of Dublin, without the consent of the Archbishop of Dublin."† Roland Jorse or Joyce, a Dominican, was in 1313 consecrated Archbishop of Armagh. This Prelate having had occasion to enter Dublin caused the cross to be carried publicly before him, accompanied with other exterior symbols of Primatial authority; a custom uniformly observed in times antecedent to the issuing of the forementioned bull. Against this ceremony the Archbishop and his clergy loudly remonstrated:‡ hence a new source of controversy sprung up and was conducted with increased vehemence during the incumbency of Alexander de Bicknor, the immediate successor of Archbishop Lech. When at length John de St. Paul was Archbishop of Dublin and Richard Fitz-Ralph had presided over Armagh in 1353, this question of the Primacy was so warmly taken up and so violently contested that Pope Innocent VI, acting on the advice of the college of Cardinals, ultimately decided, "That each of these Prelates should be Primate; while for distinction of style, the Primate of Armagh should entitle himself *Primate of all Ireland*; but the Metropolitan of Dublin should subscribe himself *Primate of Ireland*." That part of the question, however, which referred to the ceremony

* See chap. ii. † See Cent. xiii. c. 1. p. 10. ‡ Camden's Annals.

of being preceded by the cross, had not at this time been satisfactorily adjusted: the Archbishop of Armagh, on his part, claimed it as a privilege handed down by ancient usage and confirmed by royal authority; while his successor, Miles Sweetman, renewed the contest with Thomas Minot, Archbishop of Dublin, about three years afterwards.*

As soon as John Lech had in 1310 been placed over the Metropolitan See of Dublin, the subject of national education was that to which his most earnest solicitude seems to have been directed. When the reader takes into account the opulent state of the Irish Church at this period, with its possessions, tithes and power, and then throws back his thoughts on those early ages of the sixth and seventh centuries, when the clergy of Ireland depended solely on the gratuitous contributions of the people, what a glaring contrast. In those ancient days of Ireland's splendour, and when its clergy were strangers to both wealth and civil power, there were seminaries of learning in every province of the kingdom, and in which the Briton, as well as the distant foreigner from the Continent, was received and embraced with welcome. But now, in the fourteenth century, we have tithes, and churchlands; our Prelates are Treasurers, Escheators, civil Justices and Lord-deputies, and yet there is not in the whole kingdom one solitary establishment which could in the most remote sense deserve the name of a public seminary or a national college. Archbishop Lech saw and felt the importance of this shameful grievance, and in the July of 1311 he obtained from Pope Clement V, a bull for founding a public school or University in Dublin. Had the Archbishop lived, this national undertaking would have certainly succeeded, but his death occurred on the 10th of August in the same year, and thus was the design of a general literary establishment abandoned until it had been revived by his successor about seven years afterwards.

* See c. ii.

Alexander de Bicknor, Prebendary of Mainoth and at that time High Treasurer of Ireland,* was elected as his successor and consecrated in 1317, at Avignon, by the Cardinal of Ostium, Michael de Prato. During the following year Alexander was appointed Lord-justice of Ireland, and on the 9th of October (1318) was enthroned and received by the clergy and people of Dublin with unbounded applause.† Considering the power and the ample means now placed at his command, it is but natural to expect that the plan of education, so laudably commenced by his predecessor, would have been reassumed and at once successfully completed. The undertaking was, no doubt, patronized by the new Archbishop, and even advanced to a certain extent, but it soon proved to be a failure, and that in a manner which speaks very little for either tithes or ecclesiastical wealth. In 1320 Alexander procured from Pope John XXII a confirmation of the previous bull granted by Clement V, according to which this intended literary foundation was resanctioned. Three doctors of divinity were then appointed, namely, William Hardite of the order of Preachers, Henry Congry, a Franciscan and Edmund Karnardin. At the same time William Rodiart, Dean of St. Patrick's, was made Doctor and teacher of Canon law and was also the first Chancellor of the University.‡ This seat of literature continued to flourish during the reigns of Edward II and Edward III, that is for about half a century, but after that period it was neglected; it was suffered to decline and fall to the ground, merely through want of means necessary to meet the contingent expenses of the establishment.

While this University was sinking fast into ruin, a new one on a more extensive scale had been contemplated and was actually erected at Drogheda by authority of a parliament held there in the month of November, 1365, under Thomas, Earl

* Rymer, Tom. 3. p. 280. † Ware's Annals, ad A. 1318. ‡ Ware's Antiq. p. 37.

of Desmond, Lord Deputy of Ireland. The charter of the foundation, inserted in the chancery records, runs thus:—"Whereas, there is no University or general study in Ireland, which is a work that would advance knowledge, riches and good government and also prevent riot, ill government and extortion in the said land, it is, by the voice of the commons, hereby ordained yea and established and granted by authority of said parliament, that there be an University in the town of Drogheda; wherein there may be made Bachelors, Masters and Doctors in every science and faculty, in like manner as they are in the University of Oxford." This University, although placed under the auspices of both church and government, was soon after allowed to suffer the same fate with the college of Dublin. They both perished for want of funds and in the very presence of men who were at the same time sinking under the weight of authority and opulence.

While these literary establishments were crumbling into ruins the fate of the Knights Templars, notwithstanding all their valour and glory, had been already decided as well in the court of England as in that of France and the other nations of Europe. When this renowned order had been instituted in the commencement of the twelfth century, the Christian world was so delighted at the heroic virtues of its professors, that in the space of 120 years, they found themselves in possession of more than 9000 manors in Christendom, and on the very day of their extinction they could calculate on no less than 16,000 lordships, distributed in various countries. The bravery which they displayed in the field was surpassed only by the hospitality which they practised in their Commanderies. They received and attended the sick—they administered relief to the infirm—they gave food, raiment and comfort to the poor, the friendless and the destitute. At length however, certain accusations, which, without doubt, surpass all human credulity, were alleged against the Templars. They were suppressed in France by Philip, while their

estates were seized and sequestered into the hands of commissioners. The writ for their suppression in Ireland was issued by Edward II in 1307, and during the same year was transmitted to the Justiciary, John Wogan. On the receipt of this order the Templars in all parts of the country were immediately arrested, conducted to Dublin and secured in the Castle.* Their trial, attended with much apparent solemnity was conducted in the City of Dublin before Richard Balybyn, Vicar Provincial of the Dominicans, Philip Slane, Lecturer of the same order and Friar Hugh St. Leger.

Among the accusers who appeared against the Knights, the principal were Roger de Heton, Guardian of the Franciscans in Dublin, Walter Prendergast, Lecturer of the same order, Roger, Prior of the Augustinian convent in Dublin, Thomas, Abbot, and Simon, Prior of the abbey of St. Thomas.

This display of justice was little more than a mere piece of formality; the depositions were but badly supported, yet the Knights Templars were condemned, while their possessions throughout Ireland were granted to the Hospitallers by the Pope, which grant was soon after confirmed by Edward II.†

In giving even an outline of the deplorable condition of Ireland during the administration of Alexander de Bicknor and of his predecessors Sir Roger Mortimer and the Earl of Carrick, language becomes almost useless. Fraud, murder and rapine were crimes of just as ordinary occurrence as the rising sun. An Irishman had no law, redress or protection. If an Englishman murdered an Irishman, it was useless to look for satisfaction in a court of justice; the more noble and worthy the victim, the more merit and honour did the murderer receive at the hands of his countrymen. Hence property and life itself became insecure and almost worthless. The generality regarded death as sweeter and more valuable than life; in short the whole Irish people were goaded, mad-

* Rymer, vol. iii. p. 180.—Clyn's Annals.

† Rymer, vol. iii. p. 451.

dened and driven headlong into the very depths of the blackest despondency. Under such circumstances, nature even instinctively seeks for relief—nor were the people of Ireland satisfied to submit any longer to such grinding oppression. The brilliant success which had, at that time, attended the Scottish arms under the gallant Bruce, and particularly the memorable victory which that hero had obtained over the English army at Bannockburn, had so raised the spirits and confidence of the Irish and the chieftains of Ulster in particular, that with one consent they addressed themselves to Robert Bruce, as their brother and kinsman, and offered to place the crown of Ireland in his hands. This offer was accepted, and in May 1315 Edward Bruce, brother of Robert, landed in Ulster with about 6000 men and asserted his claim to the new sovereignty. He was immediately joined by all the Irish lords of Ulster: many of the English settlers also flocked to his standard, among whom may be noticed Walter and Hugh de Lacy, with their numerous adherents. Several engagements took place, in which the English were routed, while their towns were burned and their castles levelled to the ground.* In the mean time, Edward Bruce was solemnly crowned at Dundalk, and almost all Ireland had now declared in his favour. It was in this critical posture of affairs and when Ireland was on the verge of being wrested out of the hands of England, that Edward II had recourse to a new expedient and applied to the court of Rome, earnestly supplicating the interposition of the Sovereign Pontiff. John XXII was at that time Pope, and so successfully did the English agents manage their business at Rome, that a solemn sentence of excommunication was fulminated against Robert and Edward Bruce, including their adherents and all the enemies of Edward II. No nation, on the face of the earth, has perhaps ever manifested more reverence to the chair of St.

* Ware's Annals, ad A. 1316.

Peter, than the people of Ireland. The Sovereign Pontiff they justly looked upon as their spiritual Father, and being sensible that English policy and misrepresentation had been artfully employed in causing this ecclesiastical censure to be fulminated, they came to the resolution of doing justice to themselves and their country, by laying a fair, circumstantial detail of their sufferings before the holy Father. Accordingly they presented to John XXII a remonstrance setting forth, in language the most affecting, the wretched state of their unfortunate country, and the grinding oppression which, under the government of England, they had for so many years endured. This document, forming such a picture of human suffering as cannot be found in the annals of any other nation, could not fail of making a deep impression on the mind of his Holiness, and accordingly he addressed the following letter to Edward II, King of England.

“Being actuated by paternal solicitude for the increase of thy power, most beloved Son, we with earnest exhortation invite you to direct your mind to certain subjects, on which the peace of your people and the tranquillity of your realm as well as your honour and renown most vitally depend. Wherefore it behoveth you to receive these our observations with a becoming mind and to show yourself inclined and ready to put them into execution. Behold, therefore, we have received certain letters directed from the nobles and people of Ireland to the Cardinal Nuncios of the Apostolic See and by them transmitted to us, in which among other things we find, that, whereas our predecessor of happy memory Adrian IV did, on certain terms distinctly laid down and specified in his apostolical letters, give and grant to your ancestor Henry II, of renowned memory, the domain of Ireland, that same Monarch and his successors the Kings of England, so far from observing the nature and form of these terms, have at every period and even up to this day, unlawfully transgressed them and have oppressed that people with afflictions, slavery and per-

secution, such as cannot be any longer endured. Nor was there any one found who would remove these oppressions or manifest the least compassion for their sufferings, although frequent recourse has been had to you, and the loud cry of this oppressed nation must have at least sometimes reached your ears. Wherefore being unwilling to bend under such misery and sufferings any longer, they have been brought to the necessity of withdrawing from your dominion altogether and of calling on another to rule over them. These things, most beloved son, if founded on truth, are completely at variance with our views, desiring, as we do, nothing more ardently than the advancement of your happiness and prosperity. You should, therefore, diligently examine into these matters, and with ready affection cause such measures to be adopted as you know would be agreeable to your Creator, and carefully abstain from every thing which might provoke the wrath of God against you—that God and Lord of revenge, who by no means despises the groans of the afflicted, and who on account of injustice is described to have rejected his own chosen people and transferred their kingdom to another. We are also the more anxious, that, in these sinful times, you should freely direct your attention to these matters, by which the hearts of the faithful might be drawn to a grateful sense of obedience, and avoid every thing which might tend to separate them from the reverence which belongs to you.—And because it is of the utmost interest that a remedy be at once and effectually applied to these evils, we earnestly solicit thy royal Excellency, that taking all these matters into prudent consideration and conferring with thy discreet council you will command and cause such a speedy and satisfactory correction of the aforesaid wrongs and oppressions, that you may be pleasing in his eyes by whom you reign; and by doing what is equitable and upright on your part, every cause of just complaint may be removed, and thus the people of Ireland, directed by sound counsel, may be obedient to thee,

as to their Lord. But if (which may God avert) they should then choose to continue in rebellion, they will in that case turn their cause into open injustice; while you must stand inexcusable before God and man. In order, therefore, that the oppressions of which the people of Ireland complain may be more fully laid before your view, we transmit to your Mightiness the aforesaid letters addressed to the Cardinal Nuncios, together with a copy of the documents which the aforesaid Adrian, our predecessor, granted to Henry II, King of England, regarding the concession of the land of Ireland.”*

- Whether in consequence of this paternal admonition or owing to the precarious posture of his affairs, the English Monarch began now to show a degree of concern for the sufferings of the people of Ireland, and some promises at least were held out. Bruce continued still in the field, while a dreadful famine accompanied with pestilence prevailed from one extremity of the nation to the other. Sir John Birmingham who, in 1318, had the command of the English army, was sent by the Lord-deputy, Alexander Bicknor into Ulster. Bruce, with a force superior in number but not in discipline, met him at Dundalk; a desperate engagement ensued in which many and splendid proofs of bravery were displayed: victory at length appeared on the side of the English and Edward Bruce with many of his best officers was left among the slain. After this signal defeat, Birmingham received the earldom of Louth, as the reward of his services, while the Archbishop rose still higher in the favour and esteem of his sovereign.

The influence which Alexander Bicknor possessed at court was gaining additional strength every day, insomuch that four years after he had been appointed Lord Justice of Ireland he was sent by the Parliament of England as Ambassador into

* Vat. Epist. 900,

France together with Edmund, Earl of Kent, younger brother of Edward II.* It had been well for the Archbishop himself and for those immediately under his jurisdiction had he abstained from mixing himself up with the state affairs of those times. Ambition and a spirit of ascendancy formed no inferior trait in the character of Alexander even long before he had been exalted to an high dignity in the Church. He advanced rapidly into power and stepped from one office to another until at length he found himself in the midst of the labyrinth, without being able to make his way, unless by means of guides as inexperienced as they were treacherous. It was by causes such as these that he had brought himself into serious difficulties not only with the Primate of Armagh, but also with his own suffragans and particularly with the Bishop of Ossory.

It appears that, about the year 1330, doctrines of an heretical and most blasphemous nature had by some means been imported into the Province of Leinster, and the City of Kilkenny seems to have been the place pitched upon by these dogmatizers for the public dissemination of their errors.† Among other blasphemies they asserted, that our Divine Redeemer was a mere man and a sinner, and had been justly crucified for his own transgressions: that the sacrament of the body of Christ was by no means to be worshipped—that the decrees, decretals and apostolical mandates were neither to be obeyed or respected, and that demons should be consulted according to the rites of pagan sects. Innovation, schism and heresy were evils hitherto unknown in the Church of Ireland. The Irish Catholic heard, indeed, that spurious novelties had appeared and like empty vapours almost instantly disappeared, leaving nothing behind but a name universally condemned and execrated—he was told of heresiarchs rising up in the proud, profligate, debauched cities of

* Thomas of Walsingham, *Hyp. Noust.*

† Clynne's *Annals*.

the East, amidst the ruins and prostrate grandeur of a tottering empire—all this he might have learned and lamented: but the face of a heretic, the footsteps of an innovator were objects which an Irishman had never until now the misfortune of witnessing in his native and beloved country.

Richard Ledred, of the Order of St. Francis, was at that time Bishop of Ossory, having been consecrated at Avignon in 1318. As soon as these blasphemous doctrines had been announced, the sensation which pervaded all classes became vehement and frightful. The Bishop and his Clergy came forward and by solid argument, by the strength and power of truth, opposed and discomfited the enemies of religion. They were not however, to be speedily or easily vanquished—some of them were, it appears, men of influence and had considerable wealth at their command. To these resources, therefore, they recurred, when they had no longer been able to withstand the reasoning of the Bishop and his Clergy. By bribery and other means they soon succeeded in bringing over to their opinions several persons of distinction; some of them invested with civil authority, among whom are mentioned the Seneschal of Kilkenny, the Treasurer of Ireland, and the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. The storm, sometimes violent but as often abated, continued to rage for a considerable time; while the Treasurer and all who had been concerned in fomenting or encouraging the heresy were at length denounced by the Bishop and publicly excommunicated. These proceedings served only to inflame the desperate determination of a party already numerous and powerful. The Bishop was taken and cast into prison, while all his property both moveable and immoveable was seized upon and confiscated to the crown.* Whenever scenes of this description take place, calumny and the blackest malevolence are seldom absent. It happened at that time, that the castle of Moy-

* Wadding's Annals, Tom. 6.

cohir, belonging to Hugh le Poer, was attacked and burned by Thomas Fitz-Gilbert: the Bishop was accused of having been concerned in this outrage, and the charge, without being substantiated by anything like testimony, was published and instituted against him by his enemies. In the mean time, letters had been despatched to Pope Benedict XII by the Bishop of Ossory and his Clergy, in which a distinct and faithful account of these scandalous proceedings was laid before the holy Father; imploring at the same time advice and assistance. On this occasion, the Pope addressed two epistles full of solicitude and fatherly tenderness to Edward III, King of England. In the first epistle, he requires that the ecclesiastical property taken from Richard, Bishop of Ossory, should be restored, and strongly impresses on the King the solemn obligation he is under of co-operating with the Prelates of the Church in rooting out the seeds of heresy from his realms. The second letter takes a more comprehensive view of these noxious doctrines: of this letter the following extract is a literal translation.

“Our Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of the true and living God, who by his ineffable charity enlightens the hearts of the faithful, that they may acknowledge his greatness and believe in his mighty power, to the end that they may be saved and after the exile of this life admitted into the kingdom of the heavenly citizens, has in these latter days detected in your land of Ireland, crafty wolves, in sheep’s clothing—foxes going about and to the utmost of their power laying waste the vineyard of the Lord—wicked men, scattering the thistle among the good seed—pestiferous heretics, assuming the mask of hypocrisy, but whose conversations are execrable and deserve to be execrated. For it has lately come to the knowledge of our Apostolic See, that while our venerable brother, Richard, Bishop of Ossory, was, by ordinary right, visiting his diocese, there appeared in the midst of his catholic people, men who were heretics, together with

their abettors; some of whom asserted, that Jesus Christ was a man and a sinner and was justly crucified for his own sins. Others, after having done homage and offered sacrifice to demons, thought otherwise of the sacrament of the body of Christ than the Catholic Church teaches, saying that the same venerable sacrament is by no means to be worshipped; and also asserting that they are not bound to believe or obey the decrees, decretals and Apostolical mandates; in the mean time consulting demons, according to the rites of those sects among the gentiles and pagans, despising the sacraments of the Catholic Church and drawing the faithful of Christ after them by their superstitions. Most truly, this pestiferous heresy making its way among the congregation of the faithful has infected some; this plague, by the venom of its contagion, has brought death on those whom it approached; this poisonous serpent has destroyed the souls of those infected by its pestilence. Wherefore as we understand that neither in the same Ireland or in any land of your realm of England have inquisitors of heresy been appointed; in short, that heretical depravity is not wont to be detected and punished by the regular officers of an inquisition; for these reasons, most beloved son, your holy mother the Church confidently flies to the shield of thy protection, by which the splendour of the orthodox faith is far and near irradiated, that you may, as the champion of Christ and of his faith, confound and extirpate the aforesaid depravity. We therefore require, and earnestly deprecate your royal Excellency, that in consideration of the reverence and honour which are due to the faith and likewise of that concern which should be manifested for the salvation of the people, you would without delay cause letters mandatory to be written as well to your justiciary in the aforesaid Ireland as also to your other Ministers constituted over that realm, that thereby they may be obliged to afford prompt and powerful assistance to the said Bishop of Ossory and all other Prelates of Ireland, in taking, punishing and expelling

the aforesaid heretics and their followers, according to the rules and institutions of the Canons. In thus acting, you will offer an holocaust of due gratitude to the eternal Majesty; you will exalt the Catholic faith, do honour to the Church, comply with our request, exhortation and entreaty, extol even higher the dignity of thy royal name and contribute to the safety, renown and prosperity of thy reign." Given at Avignon, VIII Ides Novembris, anno I Pont.*

Before this epistle had arrived, Richard Bishop of Ossory was liberated from prison, having been confined there for seventeen days; the storm nevertheless continued unabated. At length the Bishop resolved on proceeding to Avignon, in which city the Pope then resided; but as soon as he had reached Waterford, he was informed that the Archbishop Alexander had caused letters and messengers to be despatched to the different sea-ports for the purpose of having him arrested and thrown a second time into prison. Richard Bishop of Ossory found means, however, of effecting his escape and fled to the Continent, where he continued nine years, an exile. The leading promoters of the heresy were, in the mean time, abandoned and scouted with scorn by the people—when neither wealth or aggrandizement could any longer be expected—when the heresy was left to itself, it disappeared, and by the public atonement of its authors it contributed to the still greater exaltation and glory of the ancient faith of the country. Clement VI, who succeeded Benedict XII, had the Archbishop Alexander de Bicknor cited to Avignon and appointed the Archbishops of Armagh and of Cashel as Commissioners, with powers to institute an inquiry and decide on the case.† The Pope, on this occasion likewise, exempted Richard, Bishop of Ossory and his diocese altogether from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Dublin and placed him immediately under the holy See; declaring at the same time,

* Vat. Epist. 909—910.

† Wadding's *Annales*. Tom. viii. p. 17.

that every sentence of excommunication, suspension and interdiction and every other process which should happen to be instituted contrary to the tenor of these exemptions were *ipso facto* null and void.

Richard Ledred returned to his diocese about the year 1347, having been furnished with the bull of exemption,* which document being interesting and elucidatory of the whole subject may with justice be considered worthy of insertion in this place.

“It becometh the prudence and circumspection of the Roman Pontiff, when consulting the interest of churches, prelates and ecclesiastical persons, to relieve with paternal solicitude all those who are oppressed and to make such concessions as may, with God’s help, tend to their general tranquillity. Your petition, most truly, has set forth, whilst you, having first consulted us according to the Canons, had proceeded against certain heretics discovered by you in your diocese of Ossory, the aforesaid heretics seized your person and for seventeen days had detained you ignominiously bound in chains and in a prison. That afterwards, when you, being liberated from prison, had appealed to us from our venerable brother Alexander, Archbishop of Dublin, who inflicted many and great injuries on you, on your church of Ossory, on your clergy and on your subjects, and when you had set out for the purpose of proceeding to the Apostolic See in the prosecution of this appeal, the aforesaid Archbishop had caused his letters to be despatched to all the sea-ports and other places, through which it was necessary for you to pass, causing thereby and procuring, to the utmost of his power, that your person may be again seized upon and cast into prison. Moreover, when you, through fear of incarceration and death, had been compelled to leave your country and live as an exile, for nine years, your temporals both moveable and

* Clyn’s Annals, ad A. 1347.

immoveable having been in the mean time, seized upon, the said Archbishop, by fraud, extortion and various other ways, annoyed and oppressed your church, your clergy and the laity, who had assisted you in resisting and putting down the aforesaid heretics. And whereas, we by our letters have commanded the said Archbishop to be cited before us and that within a given time peremptorily specified, and that you, in the mean time, may have reason to fear lest he should proceed with more severity towards you, your clergy and people, and by this means might be prevented from governing your church in the manner which behoveth you; we therefore, anxious to protect thy person, as also to relieve your clergy and people from oppression, and yielding to the prayer of your petition do, by our Apostolic authority and by special favour, altogether exempt both you, your church, your city, your diocese of Ossory, your clergy, your laity and all persons therein, as long as you preside over the See and that the aforesaid persecution continues, from all jurisdiction, dominion, power and superiority of the aforesaid Archbishop; and we hereby subject and place you, your clergy and people under the immediate jurisdiction of the Apostolic See. We likewise decree that every sentence of excommunication, suspension and interdict, and every other process which may be instituted contrary to the tenor of this exemption, be null and void and of no effect.”* Given at Avignon, IV Ides Aprilis, anno V. Only three years had elapsed between the date of this exemption and the death of the Archbishop Alexander de Bicknor. Upon his demise the exemption ceased and the diocese of Ossory was again placed under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Dublin.†

* Ex Lib. ii.—Epist. 506.

† See Reg. Vat. Lib. ii, pars iv. The bull is dated the 10th year of Clement VI, A.C. 1351, and thus concludes.—“Cumque postmodum præfatus Alexander Archiepiscopus viam fuerit universæ carnis ingressus, nosque Dublinii Ecclesiæ per ipsius Archiepiscopi obitum tunc vacantis, de persona venerabilis fratris nostri Joannis

After this period, Richard Bishop of Ossory continued in the undisturbed government of his See. He erected the Episcopal palace in Kilkenny; having first, with the King's permission, demolished three churches without the walls and employed the materials in building the palace. He also repaired and beautified the Cathedral; the windows of which, particularly that towards the East, had by his directions been finished in a style so neat and grand and with such exquisite workmanship, that the like could not be found at that time in Ireland. Richard Ledred was forty-two years Bishop of Ossory. He died in 1360 and was interred with great solemnity in his own Cathedral, on the gospel side of the high altar.

The ecclesiastical events, which seem to fill up the remaining portion of this century, are those in which the Archbishops of Armagh took a leading part, and particularly Richard Fitz-Ralph who had been promoted to that See in 1347. In those days almost every English ecclesiastic, who happened to be advanced to any place of importance in the Church of Ireland, was a man who at the same time had more or less civil influence in his hands; and this it is which makes it more suprising, that instead of contending about comparative trifles, they should have altogether neglected the general interest of the nation and stand by as silent spectators while the people were stript of those rights to which as men and

Archiepiscopi Dublinen, duxerimus, providendum, præficientes eum ipsi Dublinen Ecclesiæ in Archiepiscopum et pastorem, pro parte ipsius Joannis Archiep. nobis extitit humiliter supplicantem, ut ne occasione hujusmodi exemptionis, quæ per ipsius Alexandri obitum est sublata, inter Joannem Archiep. et Richardum Episcopum, alioque præfatos, quæstionis materia oriatur, providere de opportuno declarationis beneficio dignaremur; cum causa ejusdem exemptionis per ipsius Alexandri obitum jam cessavit. Nos volentes hujusmodi litigiorum anfractibus obviare, ipsius Joannis Archiep. supplicationibus inclinati; auctoritate Apostolica, tenore præsentium declaramus exemptionem, immediatam subjectionem et decretum hujusmodi, et quæcumque in ipsa exemptione contenta per ipsius Alexandri obitum penitus expirasse et nullius ex tunc roboris vel momenti. Nulli ergo &c. nostræ declarationis &c." Datum Avenione X Kal. Juliæ, anno X.

citizens they were unquestionably entitled. Richard Fitz-Ralph, Chancellor of the University of Oxford and Dean of Lichfield, was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh at Exeter in July 1347. His acquirements as a scholar, although very much overrated, had gained him considerable reputation during the age in which he lived. He appears, however, to be but a very indifferent theologian, his principal fort consisted in oratory and in this he ranked amongst the first and most popular preachers of the day. Having contended with the Friars of Armagh about some ornaments belonging to their Convent and which he intended to have removed to his palace, he proceeds to London and in St. Paul's Church publicly advanced nine conclusions against the Mendicant Orders.* These propositions were soon after solemnly condemned, but had for many years given rise to much angry and foolish contention, without being of the least possible benefit either to religion or to the actual condition of the people. He maintained, that voluntary mendicity undertaken for the sake of Christian perfection was illicit. Secondly, that Christ our Lord never did beg, nor did he counsel mendicity, but on the contrary forbad it. Thirdly, that to beg voluntarily is contrary to every law, human and divine. Fourthly, that neither St. Francis or any other saint ever taught men to beg voluntarily for the sake of perfection. Fifthly, that Christ as man was the sole temporal Lord of all things, he alone being in the state of original innocence; but whereas he found property in the possession of others, he merely ceded his right. Sixthly, that a person, guilty of mortal sin, could not in that state have the dominion of any thing by a just title. Seventhly, that to receive the confessions of the faithful was contrary to the ministerial condition of the Mendicant Orders; nor could they exercise the privilege allowed them in this respect, without incurring eternal ruin.

* Wadding's Annals, Tom. iv. p. 62.

Eighthly, that unless in case of urgent necessity, it was unlawful to hear confessions any where except in the parish church. Ninthly, that all who confess to religious mendicants (even though they should have jurisdiction from the holy See) are bound to confess the same sins once a year to their parish priest, at least for the observance of the ecclesiastical precept.

As soon as these strange and novel opinions had been published, a general outcry was raised on all sides and particularly from the procurators of the different orders. They strongly denied the orthodoxy of these conclusions, maintaining that the doctrines of the Archbishop were at least rash and erroneous. Nor were these contentions confined to Ireland. The English Church had been at the same time distracted by disputes of a similar description.* Books and tracts were published and circulated; harangues were delivered from the pulpit, while appeals without number and recriminations without end were issuing forth from both sides to the holy See. The Archbishop of Armagh having been cited to Avignon, Pope Innocent VI referred the examination of the whole cause to four Cardinals, of whom the Cardinal William, Bishop of Tusculum was president. This conference terminated in the renovation of the constitution of John XXII, by which the rights and privileges of the religious to preach and receive the confessions of the faithful were re-established, together with a mandate, that in future, the Archbishop Richard should not, either in his writings or discourses, advance any thing which might be construed into an infringement of the aforesaid constitutions. At the same time, Pope Innocent VI addressed an admonitory epistle to the Archbishops and Bishops of England, where the controversy had in fact assumed a serious appearance. In this epistle Innocent alludes to the opinions already maintained by Richard, Archbishop of Armagh, pronounces them to be

* Fox's Act. et Monum. vol. i. p. 464.

false, and concludes by exhorting the Prelates to give no further opposition to the rights and privileges of these regular orders, but rather be guided by such decision as to the aforesaid tribunal should appear just and satisfactory. The Archbishop Richard Fitz-Ralph, thus disappointed and not a little perplexed at the unexpected turn which this disagreeable litigation had now taken, retired into Belgium and died soon after at Haynault. His remains were afterwards conveyed to Dundalk, the place of his nativity, by Stephen Wall, Bishop of Meath, where they were interred with becoming solemnity. Concerning his writings and particularly his four books against the Armenians, a variety of opinion seems to prevail. Prateolus, Paulus Perusinus and others have considered him a heretic,* but undeservedly; for among other things he submitted all his writings to the correction of the Church, and if he erred in opinion, that should perhaps be more properly attributed to a richness or exuberance of fancy than to any thing like contumacy or perversity of intention.† However his writings are, as Thomas Waldensis states, to be read with great caution; while Cardinal Bellarmin, alluding to his fourth book against the Armenians, says: "In several parts of this work may be found many errors, concerning the power of priests, the poverty of Christ and the religious state."‡ Nevertheless his reputation for virtue was very great, and several miracles were said to have been wrought at his tomb. At the close of this century, Pope Boniface IX appointed an examination to be taken of them, having for that purpose constituted as Commissioners John Colton Archbishop of Armagh, Richard Young Bishop elect of Bangor and the Abbot of Osney near Oxford, but of the proceedings and termination of this inquiry history appears not to have left any record.

During the reign of Richard II, which closes the history

* Elench. Heres. p. 56. § 62. † Wadding, Tom. iv. p. 64. ‡ De Scrip. Eccl. p. 387.

of this century, but few events of an ecclesiastical nature had occurred. John Colton, Archbishop of Armagh and Philip Torrington Archbishop of Cashel, having at different times enjoyed a considerable share of royal favour, had it in their power to be of inestimable benefit to Ireland; but these Prelates were seldom in the country and the greater portion of their time appears to have been employed in foreign negotiations.

John Colton was for a short period Chancellor and afterwards Lord Justice of Ireland. In 1382 he received a commission from Richard II for the transaction of some important concerns in the court of Rome. This negotiation, however, was of very little consequence either to the church or flock over which the Archbishop had been appointed: it concerned another country and another people, while Ireland and its wretched inhabitants were left almost without a single protector—unnoticed, unpitied and abandoned.

Philip Torrington, a Franciscan and Doctor of divinity, was, in like manner, soon after his promotion to the See of Cashel in 1379, sent as Ambassador from Richard II to Pope Urban VI. On his return, this Prelate, among other matters, preached a sermon at St. Paul's in London, of which Thomas Walsingham gives the following account.*

“In those days there came from Rome the Archbishop of Cashel, an Irishman—when he arrived in London, he preached to the people, and in his sermon announced that the King of France and as many as adhered to the antipope lay under the sentence of excommunication. He moreover assured them, that now was the favourable time for the English, in right of their Monarch, to invade the Kingdom of France: assigning as a reason, that whereas now the King of France lay under a censure he would not have it in his power to make resistance or carry on a war.”

* Ad ann. 1379.

However plausible or seasonable this harangue might appear, it did not seem to have at the time, many admirers.—One truth, however, is certain, that while these men, with power and influence at their command, were thus busily employed in the polemical management of foreign interests; the general state—the peace and prosperity of Ireland were subjects scarcely ever contemplated—they were wantonly and shamefully disregarded.

This chapter shall conclude with the notorious Statutes of Kilkenny. They were passed in this century and from them alone the reader may be enabled to form some idea of the sort of justice which the Irish people had received at the hands of their rulers in those days. It was enacted “that intermarriages with the natives or any connexion with them, as fosterers or in the way of gossipred, should be punished as high treason. That the use of their name, language, apparel or customs should be punished with the forfeiture of lands and tenements. That any submission to the Brehon laws was treason. That the English should not permit the Irish to graze upon their lands. That the bards of the Irish should not be entertained. That to compel English subjects to pay or maintain soldiers was felony. That *no mere Irishman should be permitted to obtain any benefice in the church or be allowed to enjoy the privileges of religious institutes.*”*

While the Parliament had been employed in framing these Statutes at Kilkenny, the Irish people without the pale were even supplicating their rulers for a participation of the benefit of the English laws. They offered to purchase this shield of the constitution at an enormous price; but their petitions were rejected and both law and constitution were thus unnaturally closed against them. By the first six of the Kilkenny Statutes, a regular line of national and legal distinction was marked out between the English settlers and the native inhabitants of the country. This act of legislative chicanery

* Sir J. Davies, Disc. p. 125.

soon became the fruitful source of turbulence, insurrection and bloodshed, and ended in the great object originally contemplated—the confiscation of the property of the country and the almost indiscriminate beggary of its inhabitants. By the last Statute, however, the cloister and even the altar became a monopoly—religion was transformed into a sort of close borough; and no man, no matter how exalted his piety, his merit or his religious vocation, could be entrusted with the cure of souls, or allowed to make his profession in a monastic institute, if it could be once proved that he had been what was, in those times, termed *a mere Irishman*. Laws such as these could not by any possibility be attended with the least benefit to religion: they were at all events observed to the letter; they had been even confirmed by subsequent acts of the legislature—thus were the religious foundations of Ireland, which at one period were thrown open to the world and afforded shelter and education to the Briton, now closed against her own children by laws and penalties which to this day continue faithfully recorded on the page of history, but which no man has ever yet attempted to justify.

CHAPTER II.

Successors of St. Patrick—Episcopal Sees—Religious Foundations of the Fourteenth Century.

During the fourteenth century the Metropolitan See of Armagh was governed by eight Prelates in regular succession. On the death of Nicholas in 1303, the See remained vacant for three years, notwithstanding the efforts which had been made by the Dean and chapter to provide for the succession. At length in 1306, JOHN TAAFFE, by provision of the Pope, was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh. This Prelate, however, died at Rome in the same year and was succeeded by WALTER DE JORSE or JOYCE,* a learned Dominican and brother of Thomas Jorse Cardinal of St. Sabina. Walter de Jorse was consecrated by Nicholas, Cardinal of Ostium, but presided over the Archdiocese only five years when he resigned. His love of retirement and his peculiarly studious habits are numbered among the causes which ultimately induced him to tender his resignation of the See. This Prelate, when released from the obligations of a weighty administration, withdrew, as it is thought, to Genoa, where he applied himself to the revision of most of his works and contributed largely to the ecclesiastical literature of those times. Among his writings, the following are particularly noticed. A Promptuary of Theology, in three books; one book on sins in general; one book of questions; a summary of Theology in four books; on original sin; a commentary on the four books of sentences; and a commentary on the Psalms of David. He was succeeded in the See by his brother.

* Pits. Scrip. p. 397.

ROLAND DE JORSE, a member likewise of the order of Preachers, elected Archbishop of Armagh by Clement V and restored to the temporals on the 15th September, 1313. The Archbishop Roland, as has been stated in the preceding chapter, contended strenuously with the clergy of Dublin on the subject of those primatial privileges, which up to the time of Honorius III the See of Armagh had unquestionably enjoyed. According to Camden, the Archbishop Roland arrived at Howth on the day after the Annunciation, A.D. 1313. He arose during the night and advancing towards Dublin caused the cross to be carried with great solemnity before him until he had arrived at the priory of Grace-Dieu. An account of this supposed encroachment having been conveyed to the Archbishop of Dublin, some of his domestics, aided by a number of interested enthusiasts, went forth from the City for the purpose of resisting the Primate. They met him near the above-mentioned priory, prevented him from advancing towards Dublin, took down his cross, and (to use the words of the annals) drove him in confusion out of Leinster.* Nor was this controversy decided during the incumbency of Roland; it was resumed with even additional ardour by his successors. After an incumbency of eight years, the Primate Roland, adopting the example of his predecessor, resigned the Archbishopric, and was succeeded by

STEPHEN SEAGRAVE, Rector of Stepney Church near London and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. He was elected by John XXII, and immediately after his consecration was restored to the temporals by Edward II, in July, 1323.† The character and influence of this upright Prelate served to cast some rays of hope on the despondency of the nation, and these expectations would, it is probable, have been realized, but he died A.D. 1333, at the very period when the exertions of some great and good man were lamentably wanted and universally called for.

* Annals ad A. 1313.

† Rymer, Tom. iv. p. 7.

DAVID O'HIRAGHTY was his successor: he was consecrated at Avignon in January 1334 and received possession of the temporalities of the See on the 16th of the following March. Under this Prelate the former controversy arising out of the Metropolitan rights was unnecessarily revived. The Primate David having been summoned to attend a parliament held under Charleton in 1337, the usual preparations were made for his appearance in St. Mary's Abbey, near Dublin, and among other accustomed ceremonies he was to advance through the City with the Cross carried before him.* The King, moreover, had writs issued as well to the Archbishop of Dublin and his Vicar General, as to the Mayor and Bailiffs of the City, by which he strictly enjoined them not to offer resistance to the proceedings of the Primate.† This mandate, however, proved ineffectual; the Archbishop, Alexander de Bicknor assisted by his Clergy and the public authorities of the City rose up against it; but David, on the 29th of November in the same year, caused those clauses of Pope Urban's bull, which confirm the privileges of the See of Armagh, to be published and afterwards exemplified under the great seal of Ireland.‡ The Annals of Nenagh and other ancient records are not deficient in affording ample testimony to the pastoral merits of this Prelate; representing him as a man, wise and zealous and not unworthy the exalted station which he occupied in the Church. David died on the 16th of May, 1346.

RICHARD FITZ-RALPH, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, was elected on the following year by Pope Clement VI and immediately after was consecrated at Exeter by John Grandison, Bishop of that See. The contentions which had been created between this Prelate and the Regular orders have been noticed in the foregoing chapter. Considering the

* Pembridge Annal, ap Camden.

† Pryn, Animad. p. 271.

‡ Camben, Annal, 1337.

unbending disposition of the Primate Richârd, there was reason to expect that the former disputes on the subject of the Primacy would be resumed. He had already obtained several letters from Edward III, authorizing him to have the cross carried before him in every part of Ireland; while at the same time the peers and other principal authorities were commanded to assist him in the prosecution of his rights. Encouraged by the tenor of these letters, Richard proceeded to Dublin with the cross borne before him and took up his residence in the City. On the following morning he proclaimed the privileges of the Church of Armagh and republished the bull of Urban IV in the presence of the Lord Justice of Ireland, the Prior of Kilmainham and several of the nobility; at the same time fulminating the sentence of excommunication against all who should attempt to oppose him. This display of authority however formidable was not, it appears, sufficient to control either the Lord Justice, the Prior or the other authorities of the City. They prevented Richard from appearing in public with any symbol of primatial distinction and obliged him to return to Drogheda where he denounced them all as persons publicly excommunicated. Some of the nobility, having afterwards acknowledged their error, repaired to Drogheda and were absolved from the censure. During the same year, the Prior of Kilmainham sent particular messengers to Drogheda, imploring forgiveness; he died, however, before the messengers returned, nor was he allowed Christian burial until absolution from the censure had been publicly pronounced by the Primate.* However the controversy was, about four years after (1353) removed to Rome, when the decision of Innocent VI, as already noticed,† had been published and served, at least for the present, to tranquillize both parties. The Primate Richard was one of the most popular orators of the age and devoted the greater portion of his

* *Id. Annal*, 1349.

† *Chap. i.*

time at Armagh to the revision and publication of several works on philosophical and theological subjects. Among these may be noticed his treatise on the four books of sentences. Annotations on the Gospels. Questions of the Armenians, Lib. XIX. A volume of Sermons. A treatise on the Spiritual power of our Lord's passion. Eulogies on the Blessed Virgin. Scientific dialogues and epistles.* After a life embittered with many difficulties the Primate Richard died at Haynault in 1360, but his remains were soon after conveyed to Dundalk.

MILES SWEETMAN, Treasurer of Kilkenny, was on the following year advanced to the Archiepiscopal chair by Innocent VI. This Prelate had been scarcely four years in the administration of the See, when the contention regarding the Metropolitan rights was renewed even with increased violence between him and Thomas Minot, at that time Archbishop of Dublin. On this occasion Edward III found it necessary to interpose; he accordingly required by writ "that both Archbishops should bear up their croziers in each other's province, as had been the case at that time with the Metropolitans of York and Canterbury."† This mandate of the King not having been effectual, the Archbishop of Dublin having declined his attendance, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, caused a writ to be forthwith issued to the Sheriff of Dublin commanding him "to warn the Archbishop of Dublin to appear at Castle-Dermot, on the Tuesday after St. Luke's day, to answer for the said contempt, in not meeting and agreeing with the Primate of Armagh."‡ By the interference of the King himself a conciliation was at length effected, and thus was this question, so troublesome in itself and so useless to the nation, effectually set at rest during the remaining part of this century. The Primate Miles governed the See for nineteen years, and died in his manor of Dromyskin, on the 11th of August, 1380.

* Arthur a Monasterio, p. 636. † Let. Edw. A. 1365. ‡ Rymer, T. vi. p. 465.

JOHN COLTON, a native of the County of Norfolk and Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, was by provision of the Pope appointed Archbishop of Armagh and restored to the temporalities of the See in December 1381. This Prelate had for a time been Chancellor and afterwards Lord Justice of Ireland. Most honourable mention has been made of him in some of the ancient annals, whilst his provincial constitutions, which are extant, are generally adduced as evidence of his laborious research and of his intimate acquaintance with the ecclesiastical literature of the age in which he lived. The Primate, John Colton, presided over the See until the year 1404, about which time he resigned. He died on the 1st of May in that year and was buried in St. Peter's Church, Drogheda.*

Among the historical events connected with the other episcopal sees of Ireland during this century,† the most remarkable are the union of the Sees of Lismore and Waterford and that of the ancient diocese of Enaghdone in the County of Galway to the Archiepiscopal See of Tuam.

THE UNION OF THE SEES OF WATERFORD AND LISMORE was contemplated so early as the tenth year of the reign of Henry III, and on the condition distinctly specified, "that the episcopal See should continue at Waterford." The King's writ to that effect and his letters to the Pope on the subject

* Annals of Lough-Kee ad A. 1404.

† The following is a catalogue of the Archbishops who presided over the Metropolitan See of Dublin, during the fourteenth century:—JOHN LECH, Almoner to Edward II was consecrated in 1310—ALEXANDER DE BICKNOR, consecrated in 1317—JOHN DE ST. PAUL, consecrated in 1349—THOMAS MINOT, consecrated in 1363—THOMAS WIKFORD, Archdeacon of Winchester and afterwards Chancellor of Ireland, consecrated in 1390—ROBERT WALDBY, O.S.A., a native of the City of York, translated from the Bishopric of Air in Gascoigne and Chancellor of Ireland under Richard II—again translated to the Archbishopric of York in 1396—RICHARD NORTHALL, a Carmelite, translated from the See of Ossory in 1397—THOMAS CRANELY, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, consecrated in 1398—He was Chancellor of Ireland under Henry IV and Lord Justice under Henry V. In 1419, he retired to England, where he died, and was interred in New College at Oxford, of which he had been the first Warden.

are extant: however, for reasons of which no mention happens to be made in the close roll, the project after repeated applications was abandoned, and the two dioceses continued as before to be governed by different Prelates. In this state the administration of both Sees had been allowed to remain until the time of Edward III. That Monarch, anxious to effect an union which circumstances had, it appears, now rendered indispensable, caused letters signed by his own hand to be transmitted to John XXII, in compliance with which a decree was passed, "that upon the resignation or decease of either of those Prelates, the Episcopal dignity of the two Churches, Lismore and Waterford, should be one and the same, and that the surviving Prelate should be styled Bishop of both Sees: that in case of a vacancy, the episcopal election should take place in the most notable of the two Cathedrals and be conducted by the Canons of both—and that to the Capitular of said Church it belonged to summon the Canons to election. Moreover by this union the Metropolitan rights of the See of Cashel were not to be impaired; these rights remaining over the united Sees, precisely as they had been before."* The paramount reason, set forth both in the supplication for the union and in the bull of John XXII, is the poverty of the Sees themselves, the revenues of which were at that time so limited, that neither the pontifical rank

* The following extract from the bull of Pope John XXII is here subjoined.—
 "Joannes Episcopus servus servorum Dei; ad perpetuam rei memoriam.... Sane carissimus in Christo filius noster Edvardus Angliæ rex illustris, ac Dominus Hiberniæ attente considerans.... nobis humiliter supplicavit, ut Lismoren. et Waterfordien. cujus reditus et proventus annui vix quinquaginta Marchas Sterlingorum transcendere dignoscuntur, sibi in vicinitate conjunctas Ecclesias Cathedralis, quæ adeo sunt in facultatibus et redditibus suis tenues et exiles, quod eam Præsules singulariter singuli ex eis nequeunt, juxta Episcopalis status decentiam, commodè sustentari; unire invicem dignaremur. Nos igitur laudabile ejusdem Regis in hac parte propositum et commendabilem zelum, quem ad Deum, et ad Ecclesias habere dignoscitur, plurimum in Domino commendantes, ac considerantes quod Prælati etiam earundem Ecclesiarum videretur expediens hujusmodi fieri unionem, propter urgentem necessitatem et evidentem utilitatem ipsarum, et alias rationabiles causas præ-

nor the rights, privileges or dignity of the See could be adequately supported. It was stated in the remonstrance, that the annual revenue of both Sees did not on any occasion exceed the average sum of fifty marks sterling (£33 6s. 8d.) Notwithstanding this decree of Pope John the two diocesses continued separate until a second application had been made during the Pontificate of Innocent VI: that Pope, at the instance of Edward III in 1355, confirmed the letters of union granted by John XXII, while at the same time he transmitted copies both of the original document and of its confirmation to Edward III and to Roger Bishop of Waterford. Nor was the union effected until eight years after this period, when upon the translation of Roger Cradock, Bishop of Waterford, to the diocese of Landaff in Wales, the two Sees of Waterford and Lismore were permanently united by Pope Urban V, in 1363; Thomas Le Reve, formerly Chancellor of Ireland, having been at the time Bishop of Lismore.

dictas: easdem Ecclesias, de Fratrum nostrorum concilio, et Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, Unimus auctoritate præsentium, Statuentes, ut Statu Præsulum qui nunc præsunt eisdem, sine mutatione aliqua integro remanente, tandem quovis ipsorum cedente seu etiam decedente, sic una sit earundem Ecclesiarum Episcopalis dignitas, quod superstes sit Episcopus utriusque Lismoren. et Waterfordien. Episcopus nominandus, et in qualibet ipsarum Ecclesiarum sedem Episcopalem habeat, et utatur, et exerceat Episcopalia in utraque, prout viderit expedire; ac deinceps Ecclesiæ ipsæ uno et eodem Antistite simili, quinimo potius eadem intitutione usuro, perpetuis temporibus gubernentur; cujus electionem, cum ipsarum vacatio immineret, in altera dictarum Ecclesiarum insigniori, Videlicet ab utriusque Canonicis vocem in eadem electione, quasi forent unum corpus seu Collegium, pariter habituris, decernimus celebrandam, ac quoties novi pastoris electio fuerit facienda, ad Capitulum ejusdem insignioris Ecclesiæ eorundem Canonicorum Ecclesiæ utriusque vocatio ad electionem celebrandam debeat pertinere. Per hoc autem venerabili Fratri nostro Archiepiscopo Casselen. ipsarum Ecclesiarum Metropolitano, ejusque successoribus, seu etiam Casselen. Ecclesiæ nullum præjudicium generetur; quominus in eisdem Lismoren. et Waterfordien. Ecclesiis habeant aliàs jura Metropolitana, omniaque illa percipiant sicut prius. Volumus autem, et Apostolica auctoritate decernimus, ut si forte alicujus dictarum Ecclesiarum Episcopus Senio, aut Valetudine corporali gravatus, vel aliàs adeo impeditus fuerit perpetuo, ut officium suum nequeat exercere, ac Ecclesiæ sibi commissæ curam et administrationem Ecclesiæ gerere opportunas, sui que Metropolitani, et duorum Præsulum Suffraganeorum suorum judicio impotens seu inutilis, aut inhabilis censeatur, cura et administratio ejusdem

THE UNION OF THE DIOCESS OF ENAGHDUNE (ANNADOWN) in the County of Galway with that of Tuam, although it had been contemplated in the thirteenth century, was not effected until about the year 1328. During the incumbency of Florence Mac-Flin, Archbishop of Tuam, the project of completing this union was first entertained, and it would appear both from the authority of the rolls and the subsequent circumstances of the case, that the whole matter had been digested and decided in the court of Rome before the departure of the Archbishop from that City in 1250. The See of Enaghdune happened to be at that time vacant; accordingly, to use the words of a recorded document "Florence entered upon the Bishopric of Enaghdune, forbidding the chapter to proceed to an election as on former occasions, and took into his own hands both the temporals and spirituals of that diocess, which he retained until his death."* The union continued under his successors Walter de Salerno, Thomas

sic Unitæ, cujus Præsul talis extiterit, ut præfertur, in spiritualibus et temporalibus ad Episcopum alterius Ecclesiæ sibi invicem conjunctæ, si ejusdem Episcopi taliter ut præmittitur impediti concurrat assensus, debeat pertinere: Proviso tamen, quod præfato Episcopo impedito de Victu et Vestitu sufficienti et honesto, pro se, et decenti familia, juxta ecclesiæ suæ exigentiam facultatum, Metropolitanis et Suffraganeorum prædictorum arbitrio, debeat provideri. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ Unionis, Statuti, Voluntatum et Constitutionum infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire." &c. Datum Avennione II Kalendas Augusti; Pontificatus nostri anno XI.

This bull was accompanied by the confirmatory brief of Innocent VI, as follows.—"Ut earundem litterarum tenor prædictus sui insertus omnimodam rei, seu facti certitudinem faciat, Apostolica auctoritate decernimus, ut illud idem robur, eamque vim, eundemque vigorem dictus tenor per omnia habeat; quem haberent originales litteræ supradictæ; et eadem prorsus eidem tenori fides adhibeatur quando-cumque, et ubicumque sive in judicio, vel alibi, ubi fuerit exhibitus vel ostensus: et eidem stetur firmiter in omnibus, sicut eisdem originalibus litteris staretur, si forent exhibitæ vel ostensæ. Per hæc autem nullum jus de novo alicui acquiri volumus, sed antiquum, si quod habet, tantummodo conservari. Nulli ergo &c. Nostræ annotationis, constitutionis et voluntatis infringere." &c. Datum Avennione V. Kalendas Aprilis, Pontificatus nostri anno III.—Ex Regest. Vatic. Lib. 2, par 2. Epist. 56.

* Rolls, Placit. An. 34. Edw. I.

O'Connor, and Stephen Fulburn. Between the death of Thomas O'Connor and the translation of Stephen Fulburn from Waterford to Tuam a period of seven years had elapsed, during which time the temporals of the united Sees were seized upon and collected into the Exchequer. This was an opportunity which the people of Enagh-dune had anxiously desired and it was now rendered still more favourable by local contingent circumstances. Sir Robert Ufford had at that time been Lord Justice of Ireland. The influence of the Governor having been employed with success, his relative John de Ufford was (in 1282) elected, confirmed by the royal assent and immediately after consecrated Bishop of Enagh-dune. About four years after this event, Stephen Fulburn was translated from the See of Waterford to that of Tuam. During his administration in the diocese of Waterford, this Prelate had been appointed Lord Justice of Ireland by Edward I; the authority, therefore, which had been thus placed in his hands, rendered him an admired favourite at court, and on his promotion to the Archiepiscopal See, its reality became still more indisputable. A suit was now commenced against the Bishop of Enagh-dune, in which John de Ufford was cast, and this Prelate esteemed by all for his meekness and learning died not long after, leaving the Archbishop Stephen in undisturbed possession of the See. Nor did Stephen survive this unpleasant occurrence more than two years; he died in 1288, while his successor William Bermingham caused the Archdeacon of Tuam to remove the mitre, crozier and pontificals belonging to the Bishop of Enagh-dune, which had been deposited for greater security in the Convent of the Franciscans at Clare-Galway.* Nevertheless, the union was not even at this period finally effected. In the commencement of the fourteenth century, Gilbert, of the Order of St. Francis, was consecrated Bishop of Enagh-dune

* King, p. 315.

and was restored to the temporals. This Prelate had three successors in the See; James O'Kerney, Robert Petit a Franciscan translated from Clonfert and Thomas O'Maley.* On the death of Thomas at Avignon in 1328, the Archbishop, Malachy Mac-Aeda, took possession of Enaghdone, from which period it has ever since continued indisputably united to the Archdiocese of Tuam.

The religious establishments which derive their foundation from the fourteenth century are those of the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians and Carmelites. They shall be briefly presented to the reader according to the order which the date of each foundation may seem to require.

CONVENTS OF THE DOMINICAN ORDER.

THE CONVENT OF CARLINGFORD, in the barony of Dundalk, County of Louth, was founded under the invocation of St. Malachy for Dominicans by Richard Burgh, Earl of Ulster, A.D. 1305. This Convent, the very ruins of which bespeak its former magnificence, continued to flourish until the 34th year of the reign of Henry VIII, when it was suppressed. The Church had been first demolished, and on the following year this Convent with five acres of land, seven houses in the town of Carlingford, a water-mill and various other property was granted in capite, for ever, without rent to Nicholas Bagnell.†—THE CONVENT OF NAAS, in the barony of the same name, County of Kildare, was founded under the invocation of St. Eustachius by the family of Eustace, A.D. 1355. It shared the same fate with the other religious foundations of the country, and in the 34th of Henry VIII this Convent and five houses, eleven gardens, fifteen acres of arable land and three of pasture together with the Franciscan Convent of Clane, were granted to Sir Thomas

* Wadding Annales Min. T. 4.—Ware's Antiq.

† Auditor Gen. Office.

Luttrell and his heirs in capite, at the yearly rent of 9s. 4d.*
THE CONVENT OF CLONSHANVILLE, in the barony of Boyle, County of Roscommon, was founded for Dominicans and dedicated to the holy Cross by M'Dermot Roe, about the year 1385. At the period of the general suppression, it was granted to Lord Dillon.†

CONVENTS OF THE FRANCISCAN ORDER.

THE CONVENT OF CASTLE-DERMOT, in the barony of Killea and Moon, County of Kildare, was founded for Conventual Franciscans by Thomas Lord Offaly, A.D. 1302. Thomas, the second Earl of Kildare, was a liberal benefactor to this Convent. He caused the Church to be enlarged and beautified and erected a sumptuous Chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, in which he was interred. In 1499 a parliament had been held here‡ and in less than forty years after, both Church and Convent were numbered among the ruins of the country; the sacred vessels, vestments and ornaments having been seized upon and confiscated to the crown.—**THE CONVENT OF CAVAN** had for its founder Gilla-Ruadh O'Reilly, dynast of Breffny, A.D. 1302. It had been first intended for Dominicans, but was afterwards conceded to the Conventual Franciscans. The rule of the strict observants was embraced in this Convent about the year 1490; in it also three general Chapters had been held, in 1521, 1539 and 1556. Owen O'Neal, the distinguished leader of the Ulster troops during the memorable struggle of the confederate Catholics in the reign of Charles I, having died by poison at Cloughoughter, his remains were conveyed to Cavan and interred in this Abbey.§ It survived the wreck which surrounded it until the time of Cromwell, at which period it was demolished. The mouldering ruins of this ancient Convent became in after

* Auditor Gen. Office. † Harris's Tab. ‡ Ware's Annals. § Carte, vol. ii.

ages a prey to the desolating hand of time and of all its former greatness there appears not at this day a single solitary vestige left behind.—THE CONVENT OF CASTLE-LYONS, in the barony of Barrymore, County of Cork, was founded by John de Barry, A.D. 1307. During the general confiscation this establishment was given as a grant to the Earl of Cork, who soon after bequeathed the profits of it to his daughter, the Countess of Barrymore, for the express purpose of providing her with *pins and gloves*.*—THE CONVENT OF CARRICK ON SUIR, in the barony of Upperthird, County of Waterford, was founded in 1336 by James, Earl of Ormond, for Conventual Franciscans; John Clynn the celebrated Annalist from the Convent of Kilkenny having been the first Guardian. The last Superior was William Cormac in the 31st of Henry VIII, when this Convent with the appurtenances, twelve messuages, ten gardens and one hundred and fifty acres of land in the vicinity of Carrick was granted to Thomas Earl of Ormond.† The elegance and ancient splendour of this venerable establishment may be readily collected from the very ruins which happened to escape the ravages of time and of persecution. Some fragments of the Church still remain, while the steeple rising from a single stone, like an inverted pyramid, stands at this day an existing monument of the taste and architectural skill of ancient times.—THE CONVENT OF MILICK, in the barony of Longford, County of Galway, was erected by O'Madden, dynast of that territory, for Conventual Franciscans, about the middle of the fourteenth century. At the period of the suppression, this Convent was granted to Sir John King, and by him assigned to the Earl of Clanrickarde.‡—THE CONVENT OF TIMOLEAGUE, in the barony of Ibawn and Barryroe, County of Cork, had for its founder William Barry, Lord of Ibawn, about the year 1370. The Franciscans of the Strict Observance were placed here in 1400.

* Smith, vol. i.

† Harris's Tab.

‡ Id.

Provincial Chapters had been held in the Convent of Timoleague in 1536 and in 1563. At the suppression this Convent with four acres of land were granted to Lord Inchiquin.*—**THE CONVENT OF QUIN**, in the barony of Bunratty, County of Clare, was founded by Sioda Cam M'Namara, A.D. 1350. Quin was the first Convent of the Franciscan Order in Ireland in which the Strict Observants had settled; Pope Eugenius IV, having granted a licence to that effect in 1433.† This venerable establishment, the ruins of which are truly magnificent, was at length involved in the general confiscation of the sixteenth century. In 1582 it was granted, in fee, to Sir Tirlagh O'Brien of Inishdyman.‡—**THE CONVENT OF BALLYMOTE**, in the barony of Corran, County of Sligo, was founded by the sept of M'Donogh, for Franciscans of the third order. During the general suppression, this Convent was given to Sir Henry Broncard, by whom it was soon after assigned to Sir William Taaffe.§

CONVENTS OF THE AUGUSTINIAN ORDER.

THE CONVENT OF FETHARD, in the barony of Middlethird, County of Tipperary, was founded for Eremites following the rule of St. Augustin, by Walter Mulcot, A.D. 1306; Maurice Mac-Carwill, Archbishop of Cashel, under whom the land was immediately held, having given his assent. The last Prior was William Burdon, and in the 31st of Henry VIII this Convent with eleven messuages, twenty-five acres in Fethard, a water-mill and sixty-three acres of arable land in Ballyclowan, parcel of the possessions, was granted to Sir Edmund Butler, for ever, in capite, at the annual rent of 5s. 4d. Irish money.||—**THE CONVENT OF ADAIR**, usually called the Black Abbey, in the barony of Kennery, County

* Smith, vol. i.

† Wadding at A. 1433.

‡ Rolls Off.

§ Harris's Tab.

|| Aud. Gen.

of Limerick, was founded by John, Earl of Kildare, A.D. 1315. In the 37th of Elizabeth, this Convent and eighty acres of land, sixteen cottages and nine gardens were granted to Sir Henry Wallop.*—THE CONVENT OF TULLAGH, in the barony of Ravilly, County of Carlow, was erected by Simon Lumbard and Hugh Tallon, A.D. 1312. On the 13th of December, 1557, this Convent, with various other confiscated property, was granted to Thomas, Earl of Ormond.†—THE CONVENT OF ROSS, in the barony of Bantry, County of Wexford, was founded in the commencement of the reign of Edward III, 1326; the name of the founder has not been mentioned in any of our ancient records. The last Prior was John Gregory and in the 35th of Henry VIII this Convent with eleven houses and five gardens in Ross, sixty acres of arable and pasture land and two of wood in Pollcapyll, was granted for ever, in capite, to Richard Butler, at the annual rent of 17d. Irish.‡—THE CONVENT OF BALLINROBE, in the barony of Kilmain, County of Mayo, dates its foundation from the year 1337, while the name of the founder has not been recorded. In the 27th of Elizabeth, the Abbey of Ballinrobe, five quarters of land and tithes of the same, four messuages, a water-mill and various other property were confiscated to the crown.—THE CONVENT OF SKRINE, in a barony of the same name, County of Meath, was founded by Lord Francis Feipo, A.D. 1341. This Convent was suppressed in the 34th of Henry VIII, at which time it was granted with eighteen acres and the Dominican Convent of Trim to Thomas Cusack, at the yearly rent of 5d. Irish.§—THE CONVENT OF MORISK, at the foot of Cruach-Phadruig, in the County of Mayo, was founded at the close of the fourteenth century by the O'Malleys, dynasts of this territory. In the 34th of Henry VIII this religious retreat with a quarter of land and nine messuages was confiscated to the crown.||

* Aud. Gen. † Lodge, vol. ii. ‡ Aud. Gen. § Id. || King, p. 423.

CONVENTS OF THE CARMELITE ORDER.

THE CONVENT OF LOUGHREA, in the barony of Doonkillen, County of Galway, was founded for Carmelites, under the invocation of the Virgin Mary, by Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, A.D. 1300. This Convent continued to flourish until the period of the general suppression, when it was granted together with those of St. John the Baptist in Tuam, Rosserely, Kilbought, Aughrim and Anagdowne to Richard, Earl of Clanricarde and his heirs, in capite, at the annual rent of £68 9s. 6d.*—THE CONVENT OF ATHBOY, in the barony of Lune, County of Meath, had for its founder William de Loundres, A.D. 1317. Chapters were convened here in the years 1325 and 1467. The Convent of Athboy held an high rank among those of the Carmelite Order in Ireland. It flourished until the 34th of Henry VIII, when it was conceded, together with eleven messuages, six gardens, an orchard and four acres of meadow, parcel of the possessions, to Thomas Casey, for ever, in capite, at the annual rent of 2s. Irish.†—THE CONVENT OF CLONCURRY, in the barony of Ikeath and Oughterany, County of Kildare, was founded by John Roche, A.D. 1347. In the 8th of Elizabeth this Convent was granted with thirty acres of land, thirteen messuages and other property to Richard Slayne, for the term of twenty-one years, at the yearly rent of 16s.‡—THE CONVENT OF CREVAGHBANE, in the County of Galway, had the Earl of Clanrickarde for its founder about the middle of the fourteenth century. During the general confiscation it was given, together with the Abbey of Mayo, to the burgesses and commonalty of the town of Athenry.§—THE CONVENT OF HOAR-TOWN, in the barony of Shelmaliere, County of Wexford, owes its erection to the family of the Furlongs about the middle of the fourteenth century. It had been richly endowed

* Aud. Gen. Office.

† Id.

‡ Id.

§ Id.

by that family and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. At the period of the general suppression, this Convent was granted to Sir John Davis, who soon after assigned it to Francis Talbot.*—THE CONVENT OF KINSALE, in the barony of Kerrycurry and Kinallea, County of Cork, was founded by Robert Fitz-Richard Balrayne in the year 1350. In the 35th of Henry VIII it was confiscated to the crown.—THE CONVENT OF KNOCKMORE, in the barony of Tirerril, County of Sligo, was founded by the O'Gara family about the year 1353. At the general suppression, it was confiscated to the crown.—THE CONVENT OF BALLYNEGALL, in the barony of Kilmallock, County of Limerick, owes its foundation to the family of Roche, in the fourteenth century. This Convent with half a carucate of land was granted by Elizabeth to the University of Dublin.†—THE CONVENT OF KNOCTOPHER, in a barony of the same name, County of Kilkenny, was founded by James, the second Earl of Ormond, under the invocation of the Virgin Mary, A.D. 1356. In forty years afterwards, when Henry Brown was Prior, this Convent received a grant of two parts of the temporalities of the See of Ossory, at that time placed in the hands of Edward III. Like the other religious establishments of Ireland, this venerable foundation became a prey to the plunderers of the sixteenth century. In the 34th of Henry VIII it was granted with eight townlands, fifteen messuages, and other property to Thomas Barnwell, to hold for ever, in capite, at the annual rent of 4s. Irish.‡

* Harris's Tab.

† Aud. Gen.

‡ Id.

CHAPTER III.

Religious and Literary Characters of the Fourteenth Century—General Observations.

In presenting to the reader an analysis of the writers of this age we shall proceed in chronological order and commence with the learned and illustrious

JOHN, DUNS SCOTUS, usually known in the Schools by the designation of the subtle Doctor. The birth-place of this learned man has given rise to a diversity of opinion among the writers of England, Scotland and Ireland. Camden,* Pitt† and other English annalists assert that he had been born at Dunston, now called by way of contraction, Duns, a small village, about three miles distant from Alnewick in Northumberland. On the other hand, Dempster,‡ Mac-kenzie§ and an host of Scotch writers unauthoritatively maintain that Scotus had been a native of Duns, a place situated about eight miles from the confines of England: with these writers, both Du Pin|| and Labbe¶ have thought proper to agree. Finally, Mac-Caghwell** (Cavellus) Wadding,†† Connæus and numberless other Irish annalists, who actually lived in the libraries where the manuscripts of Scotus had been preserved and who of course were the most competent judges on the subject, have strenuously maintained and unquestionably proved that John Duns Scotus was an Irishman and was born A.D. 1274, in Down, a County in the Province of Ulster. The decision of these writers has been embraced by Arthur a Monasterio of Rouen,‡‡ by Paul Amalthe§§ of

* Brit. in Northumb.

† Script. p. 390.

‡ Hist. Eccl. l. 4.

§ Scotch Writ v. i.

|| Dib. Eccl. Tom. ii. p. 58.

¶ Script. Eccl.

** In Vita Scoti, c. i.

†† Annal, Tom. vi. p. 40.

‡‡ Franc. Martyrol. ad 8 Nov.

§§ Annal, p. 600.

Italy, by Nicholas Vernul of Louvain* and other foreigners distinguished in the literary world for genius, accuracy and erudition. A complete, critical, satisfactory discussion on this subject may be found in the sixth tome of Wadding's *Annals of the Franciscan Order*; from which the reader may be enabled to draw a valuable fund of antiquarian historical knowledge. Scotus, when very young, had been admired by many for the acuteness and brilliancy of his genius, but among his principal patrons were two Franciscans who had at that time enjoyed considerable influence in the University of Oxford. By means of these men, and after he had become a member of their Order, Scotus was introduced into that University, his first master being William Ware (Varro) under whom he read the principal part of his ecclesiastical course.† In process of time Scotus became a Fellow of Merton College and ultimately the chief professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford. His reputation for virtue as well as for learning was now held in such esteem, that students flocked from various nations to hear the wisdom that flowed from his lips, and it is even stated that several thousand scholars had been at one period studying in the halls of Oxford and attending his lectures.‡ However this may be, the fame of Scotus was such, that his rival could not be found in any literary establishment of that age, nor perhaps his equal in any national church of the Christian world for several preceding centuries. In 1304 and in the thirtieth year

* Nicholas Vernul, in his beautiful panegyric on the memory of Scotus thus expresses himself.—“Tuus Verò est, O’Hibernia, tuus ille Scotus, quem tibi celebrima, ac pervetusta Urbs Dun, tamquam æternæ gloriæ pignus quoddam, et ingeniorum omnium miraculum genuit.”—Paneg. N. 5. In the days of Stanihurst, it was believed by many, on the authority of a tradition, that Scotus had been a native of Taghmon in the County of Wexford.—“Alii putant (says Stanihurst) Scotum natum fuisse in Tathmon, non procul ab oppido Wexfordiæ; sed alii verius natum asserunt in Duno, pervetusta Civitate in Boreali Hiberniæ parte sita, indeque autumant cognominatum Duns.”

† Joannes Major, de gen. Scot. L. 4.

‡ Pit, de Acad. Oxon. c. vi.

of his age, he was commanded by the General of his Order to proceed to Paris, where he was honoured with the degree of Doctor of the Sorbonne and was soon after by a royal diploma appointed Regent Professor. While delivering his public lectures in Paris, Scotus first undertook the defence of that celebrated question on the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which had, both at that period and for ages after, occasioned such warm and clamorous controversy among the schoolmen of those times.* Scotus continued in Paris until 1308, when he was, by orders of his General Gondisalvi removed to the City of Cologne, where the fame of his acquirements and genius had already obtained for him a most brilliant and honourable reception. As he approached the walls of the City, this great but humble man was received by the public authorities, by the nobility and by the people and conducted with unusual pomp to the ancient University of that Capitol. Here, however, his labours speedily terminated. He died at Cologne, after a short illness, on the 8th of November, 1308, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and was interred in the Franciscan Convent of that City.† His remains were afterwards translated to a more conspicuous part of the Church, where a sumptuous monument was erected to his memory, on which the names of fifteen Franciscan Doctors had been engraved. Of this number the names of three Popes and two Cardinals occupied the upper part, while those of ten Doctors were exhibited on the sides.‡ The writings of this most learned and extraordinary man are thus generally classified. *Commentaria in quatuor libros Sententiarum*. This work having been written at Merton College, Oxford, was hence called, *Scriptum Oxoniense*. He afterwards wrote at Paris—*Reportata* or *Reportatorum Parisiensium Lib. 14—Collationes, 23—Physico—Theologicæ*

* Bernard de Bustis in off. a Sixto IV. approb.

† Wadding Ad. A. 1308.

‡ Pitts, Script. p. 393.

Collationes alia, 4—Quodlibeta, seu Questiones Quodlibetales, 21—De primo principio rerum—Theorematum, Lib. 1—De cognitione Dei, Lib. 1—Tetragrammata quædam—Sermones de Tempore et de Sanctis—Commentarios imperfectos in Genesim, in Evangelia, et in D. Pauli Epistolas—Questiones in Porphyrium et in Aristotelis Prædicamenta—Perihermenia, Priora, Posteriora—Elenchos de Anima—Metaphysica et Physica.*

MALACHY, of the same Order and Country with Scotus, flourished about the year 1310. Having been honoured with the degree of Doctor in the University of Oxford, he soon after removed to Naples where his piety and learning had rendered him deservedly venerated. Malachy ranked among the first orators of his age and was held in great esteem by several princes, especially by Edward II, King of England. He became domestic chaplain to that Monarch, while in his sermons he ceased not to reprove the vices of the court with zeal and firmness. Malachy published a treatise "*De Veneno et remediis mortalium peccatorum.*" He has, according to Bale† likewise written—"Institutorum Communium," Lib. I. "*Legum Cælibatus,*" Lib. I.—"*Novarum Traditionum,*" Lib. I.

DAVID O'BUGEY, a learned Carmelite and Prior of Kildare, distinguished himself at this period in the halls of Oxford, from whence he removed to Treves in Germany, about the year 1320. On his return to Ireland, this learned man became Provincial of that Order and held Chapters at Atherdee and Dublin. His knowledge of both civil and canon law was so accurate and extensive, that not only the justiciaries but even the parliaments held at that period were accustomed to consult him on cases of unusual importance and difficulty. He was, says Stanihurst, in philosophy an Aristotle, in eloquence a Tully, in divinity an Augustin and

* Wadding, in Vit.—Ware Writ.

† Cent. xiv.

in the Canon law a Panormitan.* David has written—*Sermones ad Clerum*, Lib. I.—*Epistolas 32 ad diversos*, Lib. I.—*Propositiones disputatas*, Lib. I.—*Lectiones Trevirenses*, Lib. I.—*Regulas quasdam juris*, Lib. I.—*Contra Gerardum Bononiensem*, Lib. I.—*Commentarios in Biblia Sacra*.† This learned and invaluable writer, having lived to a very advanced age, died about the middle of this century in the place of his nativity, Kildare, and was buried in the Carmelite Convent of that town.

MALACHY MAC-ÆDA, an eminent Antiquarian, Canon of Elphin and afterwards Bishop of that Diocess, has been justly ranked among the writers of this age. In the year 1313 he was translated to Tuam, and recovered the See of Enaghduine, which he governed for twenty years before his death. He died A.D. 1348, and was buried at Tuam in the Cathedral Church of St. Mary. The large volume, entitled *Leaber Mac-Æd* (the book of the son of Hugh) is ascribed to Malachy. It contains a series of the kings of Ireland from Neall Nigiolach to Roderic O'Connor. He is also considered to be the author of a prophecy (which some have attributed to St. Iarlath) concerning that Saint's successors in the See of Tuam.‡

JOHN CLYNN, the celebrated author of the "*Annalium Chronicon*," flourished about the middle of the fourteenth century.§ He was the first Guardian of the Franciscan Convent of Carrick-on-Suir in 1336; but soon after retired to the Convent of his Order at Kilkenny, in which literary retreat he is said to have written the greater part of his *Annals*. These *Annals* commence with the Christian Æra and in a concise but perspicuous manner are, agreeably to chronological order, brought down to the year 1313. From this period the *Annalist* becomes more circumstantial and continues his

* Descript. Hib. c. vii. † W. Eysengren. Catal. Test. Verit. ‡ Warc's Writers.

§ Wadding, *Annal. Min. ad A.* 1350. N. 24.

chronicle, with great precision, to the close of the year 1350, about which time it is probable he died. During the compilation of his *Annals* in 1349, a dreadful pestilence raged throughout all Ireland, so that the country was nearly depopulated, and it is generally presumed that the learned Clynn became also a victim to this awful visitation. At the conclusion of his *Annals*, (1349) giving an account of the plague then raging, he says:—"But I, brother John Clynn, a Franciscan Friar, of the Convent of Kilkenny, have in this book written the memorable things occurring in my time, of which I was either an eye-witness, or learned them from the relation of such as were worthy of credit. Moreover, that these notable transactions might not perish by time and vanish out of the memory of our successors; seeing the many evils that encompass us, and every symptom placed as it were under an evil influence, expecting death among the dead, until it comes; such things as I have heard delivered with veracity and have strictly examined I have reduced into writing. And lest the writing should perish with the writer and the work should fail with the workman, I leave behind me parchment for continuing it; if any man should have the good fortune to survive this calamity, or any one of the race of Adam should escape this pestilence, and live to continue what I have begun." These *Annals* remained in the possession of the Franciscans of Kilkenny until about the time of Cromwell: they were afterwards faithfully transcribed by means of Sir James Lee, Earl of Marlburg, on which occasion the copy was carefully deposited in the hands of Henry, Earl of Bath, on condition that it should be printed. John Clynn died of this pestilence: he has also written "*De Regibus Anglorum ab Hengisto ad Edw. III.*," Lib. I.—"*De Custodiis ordinis sui, in Anglia et Hibernia.*"—"Catalogum sedium Episcopaliū, Angliæ, Scotiæ et Hiberniæ."—"De Franciscanorum cænobiis, et eorum distinctionibus," Lib. I.*

* Wadding, *Scrip.*—Stanilhurst.

From the commencement of this analysis, the attention of the reader has been particularly directed to that most national and religious subject—the progress of education. It has been shewn that public gratuitous education had accompanied even the very dawn of Christianity in this country—it was the great moral corner-stone on which the Fathers of the Irish Church erected the edifice—it was, in fact, that splendid characteristic which in the sixth and seventh centuries had raised the Church of Ireland superior to other national churches, and won for our country a name of which no other nation could boast, that of an “island of saints.” This system of national education had been patronized during several subsequent ages; in fact it was upheld and cherished at the very hour when foreign ecclesiastics had been introduced into Ireland. It appears that these men, when once planted in the country, were by no means insensible to their own private interest—they became opulent—they enjoyed power in all its plenitude—and about this power and opulence they soon began to dispute among themselves. Canons and Chapters will contend about priority—Armagh and Dublin must enter into an arena for metropolitan rights, as if such things could be of any benefit whatever to the morality of the nation or to the wretched condition of an afflicted people. Some are unceasingly occupied in the defence of their privileges; while others are sure to keep up an unmeaning and boisterous crusade against Convents and Mendicant Orders. But the wonder inexplicable is, that all this time, the great sources of national education, on which the ancient Irish bestowed such pains, and which had once formed the boast and glory of the country, were now literally closed up. The schools of Clonard, of Armagh and of Bangor are no more—the literary halls of ancient days are deserted—and where the towering genius of Sedulius, of Columbanus and Scotus once soared high and majestic, the silence of night and the grass of the wilderness are now to be found. The country, no doubt, had been convulsed; it had been thrown into an awful state by the

plundering yet dissatisfied adventurers of the day; but the very same could be said of those melancholy times when the Danish invader stood in the sanctuary. Such indeed had been the case in the ninth and tenth centuries, and even then the spirit of national education was not allowed to perish. At the very commencement of the English invasion many of our literary establishments were flourishing: among the number of these, suffice it to mention the Schools of Clonard, of Lismore and Armagh; but reader, mark, the great School of Clonard was levelled to the ground by the infamous Mac Morough and his English allies. Lismore was demolished by Raymond and Strongbow—while Armagh was plundered, gutted and reduced to Ashes by De Courcey, after the students had been dispersed and banished and the professors barbarously put to death.

The infamous Statute framed in 1380 at Kilkenny may likewise enable us to contemplate the ungenerous, mercenary, domineering spirit so strikingly characteristic of this age. To exclude a man from the enjoyment of a benefice or to prevent him from making his profession in a religious establishment, merely because he was an Irishman, was much the same as placing the sword of persecution on the very altar. Scenes like these were never before witnessed in the Church of Ireland—an impious and barefaced monopoly of the Christian Sanctuary was a scandal to which the sainted Fathers of the Irish Church had been perfect strangers. Hence the discontent, the universal national indignation, which, kept alive as it were by the help of different multiplied oppressions, must have effected the interest of religion no less than the various other interesting relations of society. That the union of the church with the civil power is an evil, cannot be questioned, so long as the evidence of history is admitted; and it is equally certain, that religion never appears to greater advantage than when, stripped of all borrowed light, it is allowed to shine forth in the unmixed grandeur of its own native power and effulgence.

FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

State of the Church of Ireland in the commencement of the fifteenth century—The Archbishop of Cashel cited before Parliament—Richard Talbot Archbishop of Dublin endeavours to redress the grievances of Ireland—Ecclesiastical Censures employed in upholding the laws of the realm—History of Lambert Simnel—Restoration of the Prelates who espoused his cause—Establishment of the Wardenship of Galway—Synods under Octavian de Palatio—Proceedings of Keating, Prior of Kilmainham.

The connection between the ecclesiastical and the civil power had by this time been carried to such an excess, that to illustrate the proceedings of the former it will be necessary to have recourse to some of the leading historical events of the latter. In a parliament held at Dublin while the Earl of Ormond had been chief Justice, the odious Statute of Kilkenny was confirmed, and although during the reign of Henry IV several parliaments had been convened, yet they all terminated either in measures that were impracticable or in factional enactments for perpetuating the oppression of the unfortunate Irish. Nothing can more clearly exhibit the insufficiency of rulers in those times, than the almost simultaneous succession of Governors into whose hands the affairs of Ireland had been entrusted. One Lord Justice had scarcely been seated in office when he was removed and replaced by another still more needy, insatiable and grinding; while the self-same paramount object, which all seemed to have in view, was national discontent, national disturbance and

national plunder. Sometimes the voice of justice or rather of pity might have been heard for a moment, but it soon died away and became as silent and as disregarded as though it had never existed. The Primate John Colton and Thomas Cranley Archbishop of Dublin had indeed been deputed by the Irish parliament to proceed to London and lay before the King an officially authorized exposure of the mal-administration of his Governors, but these Prelates, notwithstanding their zeal and sincerity, returned home just as they went, having obtained no favour unless the appointment of the Duke of Lancaster, the King's son, to the government of Ireland for a limited time.* Had the example thus set forth by the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin been attended to, the distracted affairs of the country might be soon tranquilized, but measures the very reverse were year after year carried into effect; division, distrust and turbulence became the standing characteristic, the ruling fashion of the day, and every good man, who appeared to sympathize in the wrongs of the nation or who aimed at conciliation by shewing the least kindness for the people, was at once marked out and denounced before the public tribunals as a criminal.

The accusations preferred against Richard O'Hedian, Archbishop of Cashel, by John Gese, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore are, without the help of any other fact, more than sufficient to illustrate this truth. That eminent Prelate was consecrated Archbishop of Cashel in 1406. With great difficulty and after having endured a variety of persecution, he succeeded in recovering the temporalities of the See, which had been despoiled or alienated through the mismanagement of his predecessors. On his promotion to the Archdiocese he found the Cathedral Church in ruins, the Vicars choral had been left without a residence, and as he himself declares, "he came to the See, without having a

* *Allegre. Parad. Car. p. 329*

single place in any manor where he might lay his head.”* However, he soon recovered the lands of Grange Connel, Thurles-beg and several other manors, the rents of which he exclusively applied to the pressing exigencies of his Church. He erected a hall for the Vicars choral, and after a time rebuilt the Cathedral of St. Patrick in Cashel, which in the twelfth century had been founded by the celebrated Donald O'Brian, King of Limerick. These valuable services, instead of securing for him that esteem which he merited, had only served to make him a more prominent object for public attack. The Archbishop was cited before parliament then sitting in Dublin, and thirty articles were exhibited against him by John Gese, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. Among these charges there were some so ludicrously extravagant as to throw discredit on the rest and blow up the whole scheme: it was alleged that he had counterfeited the King's seal and had caused letters patent to be issued, while by the third article he was exhibited as a factious demagogue and had actually found means to have himself proclaimed king of Munster. However the leading charge and that on which his adversaries had chiefly depended was set forth in the very first article—“That he was kind and humane to the Irish and had no respect whatever for an Englishman—that he was never known to promote persons of that nation to any dignity in the church, and that he allowed no bishop in his province to advance an Englishman to any benefice whatever.”†

The writers of those times, after describing the sensation which this singular proceeding had occasioned especially among the peers of the realm, continue to dwell with unfeigned delight on the unbending firmness, integrity and good qualities of the Archbishop of Cashel, and agree that he was honourably acquitted; while by those of a more modern date, the fact is adduced as one among the many instances in which

* Rotul. Cassil. A. 1419.

† Henry Marleburgh, p. 122.

Irishmen have been persecuted, merely because they had manifested a love or a regard for their country.

This novel mode of determining ecclesiastical matters by a parliamentary decision must be traced to some of those extraordinary privileges upon which the Duke of Lancaster had for the third time accepted the reins of government in Ireland and by which he was invested with the power of nominating to whatever benefices he pleased. During the reign of Henry V, the succeeding governors maintained a still greater control over church preferments and in many instances were known to have kept the episcopal sees vacant for a long term of years, merely for the purpose of transferring the temporalities into their own coffers. This latter abuse was at length loudly complained of in the parliament held under the Earl of Ormond in 1421 and formed one of the principal grievances laid down in the celebrated remonstrance which the same parliament had at that time, through the agency of the Archbishop of Dublin and Sir Christopher Preston, presented to the consideration of King Henry V. The authority, however, of a secular legislature on points purely or relatively ecclesiastical was far from being admitted at the time as a standing maxim; even the very tribunal before which the Archbishop O'Hedian had been acquitted was obliged to acknowledge its insufficiency in finally deciding on such questions. An appeal was preferred to the same parliament on the part of Miles Fitz-John Bishop of Cork and others, in which it was alleged that sundry efforts had been made by the Bishop of Cloyne, Adam Pay, to have the diocese of Cork united to his own See.* The allegations were advanced and proved, and the subject gave rise to much contention between the Prelates of the province, however the parliament knowing well that the cognizance of such a case did not by any law come within the powers of a lay-tribunal dismissed the

* Pryn, *Animad.* p. 313.

question altogether, with directions that the whole process should be submitted to the Pope.* The union of these Sees took place, however, on the decease of these Prelates, which occurred exactly during the same year (1430) and Jordan, Chancellor of Limerick, having been appointed successor to Adam Pay the two diocesses of Cork and Cloyne were united under Martin V.†

But the individual to whom the Church of Ireland and the Irish nation had been in those times most deeply indebted was Richard Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin. This Prelate was brother to the illustrious John Talbot, Lord of Furnival, whom Henry VI had, for his bravery and faithful services in France, dignified with the title of Earl of Shrewsbury, Waterford and Wexford. Having been consecrated in 1417, he instituted six canons and as many choristers in St. Patrick's Cathedral and parcelled among them the prebend of Swords, usually called the golden one, for their maintenance.‡ He enlarged and beautified the Chapel of St. Michael by annexing thereto a chancel and afterwards raised it to the rank of a Parish Church. He also founded the chantry of St. Anne in St. Audoen's Church for the support of six priests and procured a licence of mortmain to purchase sixty-six pounds yearly for its endowment.§ During his incumbency which continued thirty-two years the Archbishop Richard was privy counsellor to Henry V; he was four times Lord Justice of Ireland (namely, in 1419, 1436, 1440, 1447) and was Chancellor from 1427 to the year 1433, in which office he was, about that period, succeeded by Thomas Chase.|| The parliament assembled in Dublin in 1442 selected this Prelate together with John White, Abbot of St. Mary's near Dublin, and commissioned them to lay before the King a fair and circumstantial detail of the melancholy

* Ware's Annals.—Henry V.

† See chap. ii.

‡ Lib. Niger, Archb. Dub.

§ Ware's MS.

|| Id. Annal.

state of Ireland; but in those days it was utterly impossible for any man, no matter how good his intentions or how unlimited his influence, to render any paramount service to the country. Scarcely had the Archbishop returned from England when a new governor was appointed; the old career of abuses proceeded in its course with accelerated velocity, while the extortions and multiplied grievances of former times were again enforced. "The Irish, says Sir John Davies, were generally reputed aliens or rather enemies to the crown of England; insomuch that they were not only disabled to bring forward any actions, but they were so far out of the protection of the laws that it was adjudged no felony to kill a *mere Irishman* even in time of peace." During these periods of trouble and dismay, the Archbishop as well as his brother, the Earl of Shrewsbury left no means untried in appeasing the angry spirit of the nation, and particularly after the removal of Ormond from the Lord Lieutenancy which he had now enjoyed for the fifth time. John, Earl of Shrewsbury, was appointed to succeed him, while the Archbishop Richard, among other matters, published a tract to which he gave the very appropriate title, "*De abusu regiminis Jacobi Comitiss Ormondia dum Hibernia esset locum tenens.*" On the death of John Prene, Primate of Armagh, the Dean and Chapter elected Richard Talbot as his successor, but this dignity he declined. At length this good Prelate, worn down as much by labour and pastoral solicitude as by the hand of time, was removed to a better world on the 15th of August, 1449, and his remains were deposited under a monument of marble beautified with his image, in St. Patrick's Cathedral.*

It might be supposed that the laws and grinding oppressions, which had for so many years been without mercy inflicted on the nation, were intrinsically odious enough, without the introduction of ecclesiastical censures or the application of the

* Ware's Bishops.

power of the Church to the purposes of state chicanery. Under the Henrys, the legislature, such as it was, did its own work and acted on its own authority; while during the reign of Edward IV the terrors of the Church are employed as a species of government-machinery, and that by an express statute formally passed in one of the parliaments at Dublin. This enactment, which it may not be improper to notice, was to the following effect.—“Whereas our holy Father Adrian, Pope of Rome, was possessed of all the Seignory of Ireland, in right of his Church, which for a certain rent he alienated to the King of England and his heirs for ever, and by which grant the people of Ireland owe their obedience to the King of England as their sovereign Lord. It is therefore ordained, that all Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, shall, upon the monition of forty days, proceed to the excommunication of all disobedient subjects; and if such Archbishops or Bishops be remiss in discharging their duty in the premises, they shall henceforth be liable to a penalty of one hundred pounds.”*

During the long and sanguinary struggles between the houses of York and Lancaster in which so many lives had been sacrificed and so much treasure had been exhausted, the ecclesiastical power was a weapon which each party seemed anxious to employ, whenever it could be conveniently obtained. Nor was the same system abandoned under the more temperate and tranquil reign of Henry VII, after these two powerful branches had been united by the marriage of that Monarch with Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. In the very commencement of his reign Ireland became the theatre of that well known and singular scheme of the Yorkists, in which the youthful Lambert Simnel, son of a poor baker in England, had for a time so prosperously figured. This young man, having been previously tutored for the purpose, was

* 7. Edward IV. c. ix.

brought over by that party into Ireland, and a report was at the same time industriously circulated that Edward, Earl of Warwick and next heir to the crown, had just made his escape from the tower of London. Simnel was accordingly instructed to personate the Earl and as such was introduced to the Lord Deputy, to the Chancellor, the Treasurer and such of the nobility as were devoted to the house of York. He met with a most flattering reception; the Deputy ordered his arrival to be published and his cause was at once taken up with enthusiasm. Dublin instantly declared in his favour and in short all Ireland, except the citizens of Waterford and the Bishops of Armagh, Cashel, Tuam, Clogher and Ossory. In the mean time a body of two thousand veterans had been sent over from Flanders by the Dowager Dutchess of Burgundy, second sister of Edward IV, while Simnel, attended by the Lord Deputy and all the adherents of the house of York, was crowned with great solemnity in the Cathedral of Christ Church, Dublin. In this convulsed state of the nation it was, that Henry had recourse to the interposition of Pope Innocent VIII. He obtained from that Pontiff a bull dated the 6th of the Kalends of April, wherein among other matters the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland were commanded to excommunicate forthwith each and every individual who should join the standard of rebellion against the reigning Monarch Henry VII, or in any manner co-operate with his enemies.* This document was of no trifling consequence to the cause of Henry, in the present critical posture of affairs. The Yorkists, headed by their favourite Simnel, took shipping soon after for England, and being met by Henry near the village of Stoke in the County of Nottingham a desperate engagement ensued, in which the English Monarch obtained a decisive victory. In this action the Lords Thomas and Maurice Fitz-gerald were slain with about 4000 of their best

* Ware's Annals, ad A. 1488.

troops: the impostor Simnel was taken prisoner, while Henry, in order to afford the nation a living testimony of the folly of this extravagant enterprize, had him employed as a menial in his kitchen and on state occasions frequently obliged him in that capacity to attend his table.

Instead of taking summary vengeance on his enemies, Henry pursued the rule of his accustomed policy and not only forgave the fomenters of this singular enterprize, but even received them into favour and had many of them continued in their former official situations. Among the ecclesiastics who had received the royal pardon by letters patent were the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, (Octavian de Palatio and Walter Fitz-simons,) the Bishops of Meath, Kildare and Cloyne; the Abbots of St. Mary and of St. Thomas, near Dublin; the Abbots of Baltinglass, Navin, Mellifont, Bectiff and St. Mary's of Trim; and the Priors of Newtown, Conall and Louth.* Sir Richard Edgecombe was the person deputed by the King for dispensing this act of grace, and on the following Sunday the absolution from the censure was pronounced in Christ Church immediately after a sermon preached by John Payne, Bishop of Meath. The nobles and prelates of Ireland were then restored to the royal favour, but not without certain conditions. One of these terms was, that each should take and subscribe to an oath of allegiance drawn up by the King himself; and because that portion of it, in which the ecclesiastical body is concerned, comes more immediately within the scope of this narrative, it may not be irrelevant to allow it insertion in this place.

"I, A. B., shall from this day forward, as often as I shall, on the behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King, be lawfully required, execute the censures of the Church, by the authority of our holy Father Pope Innocent VIII and by his bull given under lead, against all those of his subjects, of what dignity,

* Edgecombe's Voyag. M. 3.

degree, state or condition they may be, that disturbeth or troubleth our said Sovereign Lord or his title to the crown of England and Lordship of Ireland; or causeth commotion or rebellion against the same; or aideth, supporteth or comforteth any of those traitors or rebels that intendeth the destruction of his most sacred person or the subversion of his said realm of England and Lordship of Ireland. The same sentence, with all solemnity thereunto belonging, I shall in any church within my jurisdiction, openly execute and declare against all transgressors of the same bull; so that the cause on the behalf of our said Lord the King be lawful and be unto me made known; neither excepting or sparing any individual in such act, through love or dread, hatred or envy, nay, or from any cause whatever."

On the 21st of July in this year (1448) Gerald, Earl of Kildare, did homage in the presence of Sir Richard Edgecombe in the Abbey of St. Thomas and afterwards, when Mass had been sung, was absolved from the censure of excommunication and took the oath of allegiance. The same formalities were observed on the part of Robert Preston Viscount Gormanstown, and of the Barons Portlester, Slane, Hoath, Trimblestone and Dunsany. Among the Prelates who underwent the same ordeal were Walter Fitz-simons, Archbishop of Dublin and John Walton his predecessor, who having been blind had some years before resigned the Archbishopric; also John Payne, Bishop of Meath, Edmund Lane, Bishop of Kildare, John Purcel, Abbot of Thomas Court, near Dublin, Walter Champflowr, Abbot of St. Mary's, Dublin, and John Cogan, Prior of Holm-patrick.*

About this time and during the incumbency of Donagh O'Murray, Archbishop of Tuam, a college of a Warden and Vicars was founded in the Church of St. Nicholas in Galway.† It has been already noticed that the diocese of Enaghdone,

* Ware's Annals, ad A. 1468.

† Diplom. Innocentii viii, A. 1484.

in which the town of Galway was comprehended, had been united to Tuam under the Archbishop, Malachy Mac-Æda in the fourteenth century. As had been the case with other sees which were united in those times, this union was tedious and attended with much difficulty. It is also certain that these unions, although canonically effected, had occasionally created some general or at least partial feelings of discontent, which required time and prudence to moderate, and for the total extinction of which some mutual concessions were at length necessarily obliged to be made. From the diploma of Innocent VIII issued in 1484, we must learn the origin and history of this new ecclesiastical district. That document originated principally from a memorial which the parishioners of the Church of St. Nicholas in Galway had addressed to the holy See; although the erection of a Wardenship had been already contemplated and actually assented to by the Archbishop of Tuam. In their memorial, the inhabitants of the town of Galway stated, that they had been a peaceable, an industrious and a moral people, and that in their manners and mode of living they differed completely from the native Irish who inhabited the woods and mountains around them—that the temporalities of the Church of St. Nicholas, which had hitherto been governed by Vicars, had been so often assailed and the inhabitants themselves so harassed by the aforesaid people from the mountains, that they could not, in a becoming manner and according to the English rite observed by their predecessors, either hear the divine office or receive the Christian Sacraments. They stated, moreover, that they had been sometimes despoiled of their property and that many had been even put to death by these uncultivated tribes, and they expressed the utmost fear that greater evils should await them, unless some permanent and effectual remedy would be speedily applied.* In compliance with

* *Diplom. Innocentii viii. A. 1484.*

their wishes and resting on the terms of this allegation, Pope Innocent VIII confirmed the Wardenship which the Archbishop O'Murray had already contemplated, and raised the Church of St. Nicholas to a collegiate dignity. Over this collegiate church was placed a Warden or Custos, as its head, together with eight perpetual Vicars. The Vicars with the aforesaid Warden were to constitute the chapter and were to have a common seal, burse, table and other collegiate insignia. To this collegiate church was likewise annexed the Vicariate one of St. James with its annual revenue and fruits of six marks sterling. It was, moreover, ordained that the said eight Vicars should be chosen and presented to the Warden by the Mayor or Governor of the town in conjunction with the Bailiffs and principal families and to be by him inducted as perpetual Vicars. The election of the Warden was, in like manner to proceed from the same lay patrons, after which he was to be presented to the Vicars and to be by them inducted into office for one year. During this period the Warden was to enjoy and exercise pastoral authority and ecclesiastical jurisdiction as well over the Vicars as over the lay inhabitants of the parish.*

* The following extract from the diploma regards the election of the Warden and Vicars. "*Quodque Ecclesia prædicta S. Nicolai sic in Collegiatam erecta, juxta dicti Archiepiscopi ordinationem prædictam, per Octo Presbyteros morigeratos, et doctos, Anglicanum ritum et morem in divinorum celebratione observari solitos, perpetuis futuris temporibus regatur et gubernetur; et Presbyteri prædicti per superiorem præpositum vel Majorem, et Ballivos, ac Pares dictæ villæ, Guardiano, sive Custodi prædicto pro tempore præsentari, et per ipsum Guardianum in perpetuos Presbyteros, seu Vicarios, in eodem Collegio, ad præsentationem eandem, institui. Guardianus vero, sive Custos præfatus, per eosdem superiorem præpositum vel Majorem, et Ballivos ac Pares, annis singulis removibilis, eisdem Presbyteris, sine Vicariis præsentari, et per ipsos Presbyteros sive Vicarios ad præsentationem ipsam in Guardianum pro illo anno inibi deputari et institui debeat; et habeat ipse Guardianus sive Custos, post obtentam institutionem suam, durante anno pro quo electus, super omnes dictæ Ecclesiæ S. Nicolai Presbyteros seu Vicarios, ac Parochianos, potestatem, et ipsorum, ac Parochianorum prædictorum curam exerceat animarum, eadem auctoritate statuimus et ordinamus. Jus etiam patronatus et præsentandi Guardiano Presbyteros prædictos in Vicarios instituendos, et Guardianum*

It must be presumed that the statement embodied in the memorial of the people of Galway and the grievances complained of were all notoriously founded on fact; yet on the other hand, it is rather extraordinary that similar complaints had not been made while Enaghdune was a separate diocese, enjoying its independence and governed by its own Bishop. Had the native Irish, who inhabited the district immediately contiguous to the town of Galway been such desperate characters as these petitioners would needs represent them, how came it, that this innate ferocity had been hitherto kept under control or had never given rise to a complaint, until almost the very period when a perpetual and an inseparable union was about to take place between the diocese of Enaghdune and the archdiocese of the province?

The probability is, that in effecting the union of these Sees, a series of almost insurmountable difficulties was to be encountered. The old predilections of the people were to be tempered and conciliated; their natural anxiety for enjoying the advantage of a spiritual superior and for having him residing in the midst of them was not to be disregarded, and as the town of Galway had formed the most populous and important portion of this ancient diocese, it may be presumed that this erection of a Collegiate Church and of a Wardenship was one of the capital conditions on which the union of the two Sees had been at length consolidated. For the purpose, therefore, of accomplishing this measure and of establishing the Wardenship the materials for a proper memorial were requisite, while in the absence of solid and sufficient reasons, the occasional and perhaps provoked retaliation of a desponding people was employed in throwing at least a

Presbyteris sive Vicariis per eos instituendum, præfatis Superiori Præposito sive Majori, Ballivis et Paribus dictæ villæ, pro tempore existentibus, in perpetuum prælibata auctoritate concedimus; jure tamen aliarum Ecclesiarum parochialium, et cujuslibet alterius in omnibus semper salvo."

shade of plausibility over this singularly ingenious remonstrance.*

Notwithstanding the union which had been already effected between the Sees of Dublin and Glendaloch, it is a singular fact that no less than four Prelates are mentioned in the Annals of Ireland, actually presiding over the latter diocese about the close of the fifteenth century. Dionysius White, contemporary with John Walton Archbishop of Dublin, is said to have resigned the See of Glendaloch in the Chapter-house of St. Patrick's: after him were John, Ivo Russi, a Franciscan and John of the same Order, the last of whom was consecrated Bishop of Glendaloch in August 1495.† Such is the fact and it has never been disputed, while the circumstances from which these promotions originated must form a question which the annalists of those times have left altogether unexplained.‡ We find, however, that after the death of John, no mention has been made of any future Prelate in the diocese of Glendaloch, and that Walter Fitzsimons, Archbishop of Dublin, continued to govern these united Sees precisely in the same manner as had been done by his predecessors in the thirteenth century.

* The privileges of the Warden of Galway were considerably amplified by the decree of Clement XII, in 1732.—See *Century* xviii. c. 1.

† Wadding ad A. 1495.—Ware's *Annals*—Henry VII.

‡ In treating of the union of these Sees under Henry Loundres in 1214, it has been noticed, that notwithstanding the annexation then effected, Glendaloch was still to retain the title of an Episcopal See, the bishop whereof was to be an assistant or Vicar to the Archbishop of Dublin. Whether any bishop had resided in Glendaloch from that period down to the fifteenth century has not been recorded, and it is probable that no actual necessity had existed for such an appointment. The case, however, assumes a different character with respect to Dionysius White, who had been consecrated during the incumbency of John Walton, Archbishop of Dublin. This latter Prelate was infirm and became blind about six years before he resigned the Archbishopric; during which period the episcopal duties had been discharged by a neighbouring Prelate deputed for that purpose. This circumstance might have afforded the people of Glendaloch some ground for remonstrating, and in such an hypothesis, it is reasonable to believe that their prayer was attended to, and that a bishop had been placed over them, subject of course to the Archiepiscopal See of Dublin.

The interest of religion had been considerably promoted during the fifteenth century by means of the several provincial synods which were celebrated under the Primates John Swayn, John Bole and Octavian de Palatio. During the incumbency of Octavian six provincial Synods were held, the most remarkable of which was that convened in the Parish Church of our Blessed Lady at Atherdee in July 1489. This Synod was attended by John Payne, Bishop of Meath, Edward Courcey, Bishop of Clogher, William Ferral, Bishop of Ardagh, George Brann, Bishop of Dromore, Donald Fallon, Bishop of Derry, Menelaus Mac-Carmacan, Bishop of Raphoe and Walter Blake, Bishop of Clonmacnois.* In this Synod several regulations appertaining to morals and ecclesiastical discipline were ordained; at the same time the claims which had given rise to a litigation between Thomas Brady, Bishop of Kilmore and Cormac, regarding that See, had been consigned to the arbitration of the Bishops of Meath, Clogher and Ardagh.

While the Archbishop Octavian had been thus effectively employed, James Keating, Prior of Kilmainham, was creating new troubles and by his mal-administration had almost brought that celebrated establishment to ruin.† Since the suppression of the Knights Templars, this rich and extensive Priory was becoming every day more useless and less respectable. During the time of the Templars, in 1312, the sick and infirm as well as the traveller and the stranger had free and welcome admittance within its gates; but after that period its hospitality was comparatively limited, while the Priors and other Superiors endeavoured by grants, alienations and divers illicit means to forward their own selfish policy and personal aggrandizement. James Keating succeeded Sir James Talbot, as Prior, in 1461.‡ Scarcely had Keating entered on the administration of Kilmainham when he was

* Ware's Annals, A. 1489. † Rymer, vol. xii. p. 90. ‡ King, p. 69.

arraigned before parliament for several misdemeanors and among the rest for an attack on Sir Robert Dowdal, Deputy to the Lord Treasurer of Ireland. The Prior, however, found means of obtaining an acquittal from these charges; but his restless spirit soon brought him into still greater difficulties. In 1477 he assumed the office of Chief Governor of the Castle, having first dispossessed Archbald the lawful Governor; and after demolishing the bridge, he immediately fortified the Castle with men and arms against Henry, Lord Grey, then Deputy Lieutenant of Ireland.* For these acts, added to the disposal of jewels and other property belonging to the hospital, the Prior Keating was deposed in 1482 by the Grand Master of Rhodes, while Marmaduke Lomley, descended of a noble English family, was appointed to succeed him. As soon as Keating received notice that his rival had landed at Clontarf, he repaired thither with an armed force, took Lomley prisoner and kept him in close confinement until he consented to resign the several instruments of his election into Keating's hands; after which the Commandery of Louth was assigned to him for his maintenance. In the mean time an account of these violent proceedings had been transmitted to the King and also to the Grand Master, by which means a sentence of excommunication was issued against the Prior. This censure served only to enrage him the more: he proceeded to Kilsaran, had Lomley bound in chains and notwithstanding the interference of the Archbishop Octavian, the unfortunate man was again cast into prison where he lingered and pined, and at length sunk into a premature grave. This career of cruelty terminated at length in the downfall of Keating himself. Having taken a prominent part in the extravagant scheme of Simnel and thereby adding disloyalty to his other offences, the Prior Keating was not only refused pardon but was moreover removed from the

* Harris's Collect. v. 5.

governorship of the Castle of Dublin which he had usurped and by means of his powerful influence continued to enjoy for so many years. With a spirit unbending to the last and setting authority almost at defiance he kept forcible possession of the hospital until the year 1491, when he was at length ejected and ended his factious and turbulent life in the most abject poverty; having first seen James Wall substituted in his place as Prior of Kilmainham.* From the appointment of James Wall until the final suppression of this splendid establishment there were four Priors, the last of whom was Sir Oswald Massingberd. Under his administration the princely possessions of the Priory of Kilmainham as well as of the other charitable foundations of the country became a prey to Elizabeth, while the Prior Massingberd withdrew privately from the kingdom and spent the remainder of his days in exile.†

* Leland, vol. ii. p. 89.

† King, p. 14.—Ware's Annals, A. 1557.

CHAPTER II.

Successors of St. Patrick—Episcopal Sees—Religious Foundations of the Fifteenth Century.

Immediately on the resignation of John Colton, Archbishop of Armagh, NICHOLAS FLEMING, a Secular Priest, was by provision of Pope Boniface IX advanced to the Metropolitan See and was consecrated in May 1404. When the Prelates of the Church had been summoned to the Council of Constance in 1415, Nicholas deputed his Proctor, William Purcell, to assist on this occasion, while at the same time Thomas, Bishop of Ossory had, on his part, conferred similar powers on the same deputy.* Nicholas died on the following year and was succeeded by

JOHN SWAYN, Rector of Galtrim in Meath, and consecrated at Rome in February 1417. During the incumbency of this Prelate, the controversy regarding the Metropolitan rights was renewed; for which reason a provincial Synod had been convened at Drogheda, early in October 1427.† The transactions of this Synod had scarcely terminated, when the Primate, John Swayn, was furnished with a peremptory writ, demanding his attendance at a parliament to be held on the following January in Dublin.‡ The Primate, however, rested his plea for non-attendance on the grounds that he had been prevented by the Clergy of Dublin from entering the City in a manner consistent with the privileges of Primatial authority.§ In his maintenance of other rights enjoyed at that period by the Church of Armagh this Prelate had been more

* Ware's Bishops. † Register, Swain, Tom. i. p. 372. ‡ Id. p. 292. § Id. p. 292.

successful, and particularly in that juridical claim which, as an Heriot, the Primate was allowed to possess over the principal goods of a deceased suffragan. This property became in lapse of time simplified: it was supposed to consist of the best horse, cup and ring belonging to the deceased prelate, and was regularly claimed by the Archbishop of Armagh under very severe penalties.* The Primate John Swayn, having governed the See for more than twenty-one years, resigned in 1439 and was buried soon after in St. Peter's Church, Drogheda, within the sanctuary of a chapel which he himself had founded and dedicated to St. Anne.

His immediate successors in the Metropolitan See were, JOHN PRENE, JOHN MEY and JOHN BOLE. Upon the death of the Primate John Bole in February 1470, JOHN FOXALL, a Franciscan, was advanced to the See by Sixtus IV. This Prelate, however, died in England, during the second year of his consecration and had for successor, EDMUND CONNESBURG. About this period Octavian de Palatio, a Florentine, and a great favourite with Sixtus IV, had been commissioned to repair to Ireland. In the registry of Armagh may be seen a provisional epistle, by which Octavian was constituted "Nuncio of the Apostolic See, and governor of the Church of Armagh both in spirituals and temporals."† This office was continued until the year 1479, when Edmund resigned and OCTAVIAN DE PALATIO (by provision of Sixtus IV) succeeded to the See. This Prelate evinced an unremitted firmness in the defence of those Primatial rights, for which his predecessors had so strenuously contended. On this subject, Dowling in his Annals (1493) has recorded a case which was then pending between Nicholas Maguire, Bishop of Leighlin and the Chapter of that Cathedral. "The Chapter appealed to the Metropolitan consistory of Dublin; but not meeting relief, the appeal was then advanced by the Chapter to the

* Regist. Swain, Tom. i. p. 231.

† Id. Fol. 6.

Primatial court at Drogheda, when Octavian of Armagh, hearing the proofs, inhibited the Bishop from attempting any thing to the prejudice of the daily distribution of the said Cathedral and cited the parties to his Chancery, near Drogheda." After this period the controversy on the subject of these rights appears to have been abandoned by both parties, until it had been most unnecessarily revived under the administration of Richard Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin in the seventeenth century. Octavian, during his incumbency, had convened six provincial Synods; he was thirty-three years Archbishop of Armagh, and died at an advanced age in June 1513. His remains were interred with great solemnity in the Church of St. Peter at Drogheda, and in a tomb which he himself had caused to be erected.

Owing to that want of unanimity which a feudal state of society is sure to engender, the influence once enjoyed by the capitular elections appears to have been about this period rapidly on the decline. The policy of the civil power in prolonging diocesan vacancies and oftentimes a degree of remissness on the part of the successful candidates contributed also to undermine the system: on all these occasions the Pope, by the plenitude of his power, interfered and provided for the see. Out of thirty-two episcopal promotions which had, in the fifteenth century, taken place in Leinster alone, not less than thirty had been effected agreeably to this mode: at the same time it is worthy of remark, that ever since the contentions between the Cathedrals of St. Patrick and Christ Church the Archbishops of Dublin had been almost invariably appointed by provision of the holy See.*

* The Archbishops who presided over the Metropolitan See of Dublin, during the fifteenth century, were—**RICHARD TALBOT**, consecrated in 1417—**MICHAEL TREGURY**, a native of Cornwall and Chaplain to Henry VI, consecrated in 1449—**JOHN WALTON**, Abbot of Osney, consecrated in 1472.—This Prelate, having been blind for six years, resigned in May, 1484—**WALTER FITZ-SIMONS**, Chanter of St. Patrick's, advanced to the See by provision of Pope Sixtus IV, and consecrated on the 26th of September, 1484—He died at Finglass, in May, 1511, and was buried in St. Patrick's Cathedral.

While the causes already noticed had tended to diminish the independence of the Dean and Chapter, there were reasons of a distinct class which operated in perpetuating the system of diocesan unions. In this century, two of these unions have to be recorded, namely that of Cork and Cloyne which occurred in 1430 and that of Down and Conner in 1442. The grounds, on which the UNION OF THE SEES OF CORK AND CLOYNE had been effected, were, in many respects, similar to those already contained in the bull relative to the annexation of Lismore to Waterford. A comparative estimate of the population and the poverty of the Sees were the principles on which the advocates of these unions almost invariably proceeded, while in most cases the influence of the Lord Deputy and sometimes that of the King himself had been ingeniously employed in procuring the confirmation which the Canons indispensably required on these occasions. The union of the sees of Cork and Cloyne had been contemplated by Adam Pay, from the time of his promotion to the latter diocese in the commencement of the fifteenth century: Sutton, Lord Deputy, had, soon after the parliamentary dissolution of 1421, openly declared himself an advocate for the measure, so that in less than twelve months it was finally decided in Rome, that on the decease of either of the present incumbents the two Sees should be canonically united. The death of Miles Fitz-John Bishop of Cork and of Adam Pay Bishop of Cloyne occurred on the same year; while Jordan, Chancellor of Limerick, having been at the same time promoted to Cloyne, these two Sees were accordingly united, under Martin V.*

THE UNION OF THE SEES OF DOWN AND CONNOR was effected under Eugene IV, in 1442. John Cely, a Benedictine, had been consecrated Bishop of Down in 1413, but some charges of immorality having been advanced against

* Ware's Bishops.

him, he was deposed by the Primate, John Prene, in 1441, while certain documents explanatory of the whole process were at the same time transmitted to Rome.* These papers had been accompanied by a memorial from the Primate, in which he recommended William Basset, also a Benedictine, to the notice of the holy See and expressed a hope that he might be promoted to the diocese of Down, then vacant by the deprivation of the late incumbent. In this transaction, however, the interference of the Primate proved unsuccessful; the Pope having, at the suggestion of Henry VI, already determined on the union of that diocese with the See of Connor. In fact both Cely and John, Bishop of Connor, had contemplated an union of these Sees for some time before the sentence of deposition had been executed against the former Prelate; but they met with violent opposition from the Archbishop of Armagh, both at Rome and in the court of England. It was on this occasion, that the Primate, John Prene, had opened a correspondence with John Stafford, Bishop of Bath and Wells and at that time Chancellor of England, in which he assured him, "that the union contemplated by the Bishops of Down and Connor would afford the King's Irish enemies an overwhelming power in that part of the country and prove at length an incalculable injury to England."† The influence of the Chancellor was as fruitless in the English court, as that of the Primate had been at Rome. Henry had already, by letters patent, approved of this union, and it was agreed that when one of the Sees became vacant, the two should become permanently united. This was accordingly effected under Eugene IV, and in 1442, the two Sees thus united were placed under the administration of John, Bishop of Connor. The Primate, nevertheless, caused a peremptory citation to be served on John and also on William Stawley, Prior of Down and on the Chapter, com-

* Prene's Registry, p. 100.

† Id. p. 126.

manding them to appear before him and exhibit the canonical documents; but John having in the meantime appealed to the Apostolic See was ultimately successful and continued to govern the united dioceses of Down and Connor until his death, which occurred in the commencement of the year 1451.*

In presenting a detail of the several convents which derive their foundation from the fifteenth century, we shall briefly pursue the system which has been hitherto observed and commence with the

CONVENTS OF THE DOMINICAN ORDER.

THE CONVENT OF LONGFORD was founded in the year 1400, for Dominicans, by O'Ferrall, Prince of Annaly.† This house had been celebrated for the number of its learned men, three of whom, Connor, Diarmed and Henry Duffe M'Fechehan, became victims to the general plague which raged throughout Ireland in 1448. During the sixteenth century, eight town-lands, situated in the County of Longford, being parcel of the possessions, were granted for ever, in capite, to Richard Nugent; while in 1615, James I made over the Convent to Francis, Lord Valentia.‡—THE CONVENT OF PORTUMNA, in the barony of Longford, County of Galway, belonged originally to the Cistercian monks of Dunbrody in the County of Wexford. It was afterwards consigned to O'Madden, dynast of that country and granted by him to the Dominicans. In the 36th of Henry VIII, it became involved in the general confiscation.—THE CONVENT OF TONBEOLA, in the barony of Ballynahinch, County of Galway, was founded for Dominicans in 1427, by the O'Flahertys, dynasts of Eir Conaught. While the work of destruction had been making its way, in the reign of Elizabeth

* Presid. of Armagh, in Marsh's Lib. p. 55. † Hib. Dom. p. 302. ‡ Lodge, vol. ii.

this beautiful Convent was demolished, and even the stones of the church and the marble pavement of the sanctuary were employed in building a fortress in the neighbourhood.—THE CONVENT OF URLARE, in the barony of Costello, County of Mayo, derived its foundation from the family of Nangle in the year 1430. Urlare had been always set apart as a general novitiate for the province. An inquisition was held under James I, in 1610, when this Convent with thirty-six acres of land in the barony of Ballyhawes was granted to Lord Dillon.*—THE CONVENT OF TULSK, in the barony of Roscommon, was erected by Phelim Cleary O'Connor, in 1430. In the 33rd of Elizabeth, two quarters of land with the tithes were in the possession of the mayor and bailiffs of Galway.† THE CONVENT OF BURISHOOL, in a barony of the same name, County of Mayo, was founded by Richard de Bourke, Lord M'William Oughter, in 1486. At the suppression it was given to Nicholas Weston, by whom it was soon after assigned to Theobald Viscount Costillogallen.‡—THE CONVENT OF CLONMEAGHAN, in the barony of Corran, County of Sligo, was founded in 1488, by Eugene Mac-Donough; during the confiscations of Elizabeth it was granted to Richard Kinde-linch.§—THE CONVENT OF GALWAY had been originally the Nunnery of St. Mary of the Hill and was daughter to that of the Holy Trinity of the Premonstratenses of Tuam. It continued for some time in the possession of the Secular Clergy until Pope Innocent VIII, at the request of the inhabitants and by a bull dated the 4th of December, 1488, made a grant of it to the Dominicans. This Convent has been justly celebrated for its learned professors; among whom may be noticed Peter French, author of the "Exposition of the Christian faith" and Domnick Lynch, who in 1674 became a distinguished teacher of moral and natural philosophy. The Convent of Galway continued to flourish until the year

* Harris's Tab. † Chief Remembrancer. ‡ Harris's Tab. § King, p. 94.

1652, when it was totally demolished by the town's-people, lest it might fall into the hands of Cromwell and be converted into a fortress against themselves.*—THE CONVENT OF THOMASTOWN, in the barony of Gowran, County of Kilkenny, was founded about the close of the fifteenth century. The name of the founder has not, however, been ascertained. It was suppressed in the 35th of Henry VIII.—THE CONVENT OF GOLA, adjoining Lough-erne, in the County of Fermanagh, had for its founder, M'Manus, dynast of that territory. In the age of confiscation and ruins, under Henry VIII and Elizabeth, the Convent of Gola was levelled to the ground, while its possessions were confiscated to the crown.

CONVENTS OF THE FRANCISCAN ORDER.

THE CONVENT OF KILCONNELL, in a barony of the same name, County of Galway, derived its foundation from the family of O'Kelly about the year 1400. The reformation of the Observants was received in this Convent in 1460. In the sixteenth century this Convent was granted to Charles Calthorpe.†—THE CONVENT OF THACINELING, in the County of Leitrim was erected by William O'Reily in 1414, and in 1460 was granted to the Strict Observants.‡ During the reign of Henry VIII it was confiscated to the crown.—THE CONVENT OF ASKEATON, in the barony of Conillo, County of Limerick, was founded by James, Earl of Desmond in the year 1420, for Conventual Franciscans. The Strict Observants were placed here in 1490—while in 1564, during the fury of the storm under Elizabeth, a provincial Chapter was held in the Convent of Askeaton.§ It was soon after suppressed and in a few years became numbered among the ruins of the country. THE CONVENT OF IRRELACH, (Mucruss) in the barony of Magunihy, County of Kerry, was founded for Conventual

* Hib. Dominicana, p. 323. † Harris's Tab. ‡ Wadding, Tom. vi. § Ware's M. MS.

Franciscans, by Donald M'Carthy in the year 1440; since that period this Convent has become the general cemetery of the M'Carthy family. It was rebuilt by the Catholics in the beginning of the reign of James I, but owing to the intolerance of that Monarch, it soon became a heap of ruins. In the 37th of Elizabeth a grant was made of this Convent together with the Abbey of Innisfallen to Robert Collan, to hold the same for ever, by fealty, at a trifling yearly rent.* THE CONVENT OF ELPHIN, in the County of Roscommon, derived its foundation from St. Asicus and in process of time became a parish church. It was at length in 1450, conceded to the Conventual Franciscans. At the time of the general suppression a grant was made of this Convent to Terence O'Birne.†—THE CONVENT OF ENNISCORTHY, in the barony of Scarewalshe, County of Wexford, was founded by Donald Cavenagh, for Franciscans of the Strict Observance, A.D. 1460. This Convent continued to flourish until the 31st of Henry VIII when an inquisition was held, and in the 37th of Elizabeth it was granted together with the manor of Enniscorthy to Sir Henry Wallop, to hold by knight's service at the annual rent of £10 16s. 4d. Irish.‡—THE CONVENT OF BANTRY, in a barony of the same name, County of Cork, was erected for Conventual Franciscans, by Dermot O'Sullivan Beare in 1460. In the sixteenth century, this beautiful Convent became a mass of ruins.—THE CONVENT OF MOYNE, in the barony of Tirawley, County of Mayo, was founded for Franciscans of the Strict Observance by M'William Bourk, A.D. 1460. Provincial Chapters had been held here in the years 1464, 1498, 1512, 1541, and 1550. In the 37th of Elizabeth, a grant was made of the Convent of Moyne to Edmund Barrett, to hold the same for ever, by fealty, at the annual rent of 5s.§—THE CONVENT OF NEW ABBEY, on the River Liffey, and near Kilcullen-bridge, County of Kildare,

* Aud. Gen.

† Harris's Tab.

‡ Aud. Gen.

§ Id.

was founded in the year 1460 by Sir Roland Eustace, for Franciscans of the Strict Observance. In 1582, a lease of this Abbey was granted to Edmund Spencer, at the yearly rent of £3 Irish.*—THE CONVENT OF INISHIRCAN, an island in the County of Cork, between Cape Clear and the main land, had for its founder Florence O'Driscoll and was given to the Strict Observants in 1460. The citizens of Waterford having in 1537 made a descent on this island the Convent, as well as the fortress and villages, fell into their hands and were levelled to the ground.†—THE CONVENT OF ADAIRE, in the barony of Kennery, County of Limerick, was founded by Thomas, Earl of Kildare and Joan his wife, daughter of James, Earl of Desmond, A.D. 1465. This extensive and splendid Convent flourished until the 37th of Elizabeth, when it was granted, together with the possessions of the Trinitarian, Dominican and Augustinian Convents in Adaire, to Sir Henry Wallop, for ever, in free and common soccage, at the annual rent of £26 17s. 8d.‡—THE CONVENT OF ATHENRY, in a barony of the same name, County of Galway, had for its founder Thomas, Earl of Kildare, in 1464. At the suppression it was confiscated to the crown.—THE CONVENT OF MONAGHAN was founded on the site of the ancient Abbey of St. Moeldod in 1465 by Phelim Mac-Mahoune, for Conventual Franciscans. It was granted at the suppression to Edward Withe.§—THE CONVENT OF LISLAGHTIN, in the barony of Iraghticonnor, County of Kerry, was erected in 1465, by Conchobar (O'Connor) Prince of Kerry, for Strict Observants. A grant was made of this Convent to Sir Edward Denny.||—THE CONVENT OF KILCREA, in the barony of Muskerry, County of Cork, was founded by Cormac M'Carthy, Prince of Desmond, in the year 1465. The founder and Thomas O'Herlihy, Bishop of Ross, were interred within the choir of this Convent. On the accession of

* Aud. Gen. † Smith, vol. i. p. 141. ‡ Aud. Gen. § Harris's Tab. || Aud. Gen.

James I, the Catholics, confident that the storm had blown over, undertook to repair the Abbey of Kilcrea. They soon, however, found themselves disappointed. James, if possible, surpassed his predecessors in intolerance. While this splendid Convent became a prey to the fury of the times and in its very ruins affords an awful but splendid exemplification of the architectural grandeur and religious spirit of ancient days. The Abbey of Kilcrea was first granted to Lord Muskerry, but in 1650 it was taken by Cromwell and soon after transferred to his favourite Lord Broghill.*—THE CONVENT OF DONEGALL was founded for Strict Observants in the year 1474, by Odo Roe, Prince of Tyrconnell. Menelaus M'Carman, Bishop of Raphoe and Roderic O'Donnell were interred here in the sixteenth century. The Convent of Donegall had the best selected library of any in the kingdom, but in the 35th of Henry VIII it became a prey to the rapacity of the times. The Annals of the four Masters had been compiled in this Convent.†—THE CONVENT OF ROSCREA, in the barony of Ikerrin, County of Tipperary, was founded by Mulruany O'Carrol, A.D. 1490. By an inquisition taken in 1568 it was granted to Thomas, Earl of Ormond.‡—THE CONVENT OF ROSSERELLY, in the barony of Clare, County of Galway, was erected by Lord Granard, for Strict Observants, in 1498. A Chapter was held here in 1509. At the suppression, it was consigned to the Earl of Clanricarde.§—THE CONVENT OF BONAMARGY, in the County of Antrim, was erected for Franciscans of the third order, by the family of M'Donnel in 1498. A grant was made of it to the same family.—THE CONVENT OF DUNGANNON, in the County of Tyrone, was erected for Franciscans of the third order by Con O'Neal in 1499. It was conceded to the Earl of Westmeath, who assigned it to Sir Arthur Chichester.||

* Smith, v. i. p. 210.

† See Cent. xvii. c. iii.

‡ Harris's Tab.

§ Aud. Gen.

|| Ware's Mona.

CONVENTS OF THE AUGUSTINIAN ORDER.

THE CONVENT OF BORISCARRA, in the County of Mayo, belonged originally to the Carmelites, but in 1412 was ceded to the Augustinians by Pope John XXII. At the suppression, the property attached to this Convent and valued at 13s. 4d. was confiscated to the crown.*—THE CONVENT OF BENNADA, in the barony of Leyney, County of Sligo, was founded in 1423, by means of a member of the Order, named Charles. By an inquisition taken in the 11th of James I, the possessions consisting of half the quarter of Knockglassee became merged in the general confiscation.†—THE CONVENT OF DUNMORE, in a barony of the same name, County of Galway, was erected by Walter de Bermingham in the year 1425.‡ During the sixteenth century, this Convent was completely levelled to the ground.—THE CONVENT OF ARDNARY, in the barony of Tyreragh, County of Sligo, was erected about the year 1427, but the name of the founder has not been mentioned.§ It was suppressed in the 36th of Henry VIII.—THE CONVENT OF NAAS, in a barony of the same name, County of Kildare, was founded in the year 1484. The name of the founder has not, however, been ascertained. By an inquisition taken in the 26th of Elizabeth, this Convent with 120 acres of land in Goingerstown and in the parish of Naas, parcel of its possessions, was granted to Nicholas Aylmer, for a term of fifty years.||—THE CONVENT OF MORISK, in the County of Mayo, owed its foundation to the O'Malleys, Lords of that country, about the close of the fifteenth century. In the 33rd of James I, this Convent, with a quarter of land adjacent thereto, was confiscated to the crown.¶ THE CONVENT OF CALLAN, in the barony of Kells, County of Kilkenny, had for its founder James, Earl of Ormond, about the year 1487. The last Prior was William O'Fogarty: on

* King, p. 196. † Id. p. 122. ‡ Calendar. § Allemand. || Aud. Gen. ¶ Ch. Rem.

the 13th of December, 1557, this Convent with four acres in Callan, three gardens and three messuages, together with the Abbey of Athassel in the County of Tipperary, was granted for ever to Thomas, Earl of Ormond.*

CONVENTS OF THE CARMELITE ORDER.

THE CONVENT OF FRANKFORT, in the barony of Ballyboy, King's County, was founded for Carmelites, under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin, by Odo O'Molloy, about the year 1430. This Convent and its possessions were granted, at the period of the suppression, to Robert Leicester.†—THE CONVENT OF RATHMULLEN, in the barony of Kilmacrennan, County of Donegal, was erected at the close of the fifteenth century by M'Swiney Fannagh and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.‡ During the confiscations of Elizabeth, this Convent had been completely demolished.—THE CONVENT OF CASTLE LYONS, in the County of Cork, was founded by the family of Barry.§ It continued until the 11th of Elizabeth, about which time it became numbered among the ruins of the country.—THE CONVENT OF CORK dated its origin from the fifteenth century, but the name of the founder as well as the records of its suppression have perished.||—THE CONVENT OF GALWAY owed its foundation to the family of De Burgo. The Carmelites unintimidated by the terrors that surrounded them, continued after its suppression to impart the blessings of religion to the faithful in this district: in 1648 they officiated in their Chapel at Galway and were among the number of those who had appealed to the Pope against the censures by which the country had at that time been so unhappily distracted.¶

* Aud. Gen. † Harris's Tab. ‡ Ware's Mon. § Hib. Domin. p. 292.
 || Hib. Dom. p. 752. ¶ Id. p. 684, 752.—See cent. xvii. c. i.

CHAPTER III.

Religious and Literary Characters of the Fifteenth Century—General Observations.

AUGUSTIN M'GRAIDAN, a learned Augustinian Canon of the Abbey of Lough Rie in the County of Longford, has been ranked by our annalists among the early writers of the fifteenth century. They have not, however, been enabled to leave on record any circumstantial account of him, or indeed of his writings; an omission which may with great probability be attributed to the unsparing ravages committed in this literary retreat at different periods, and particularly at the close of the sixteenth century. The only works of his that now remain are his *Lives of the Saints of Ireland*, and a *Chronicle* which he continued to his own time.* This latter work had been brought down to a later period by another hand; a portion of which, in manuscript, was in the possession of Ware and is preserved in the Bodlian library at Oxford.—Augustin M'Graidan died in November 1405 and was interred in the above-mentioned Abbey.

PATRICK BARRET, an Augustinian Canon of the Abbey of Kells in the County of Kilkenny, flourished in the commencement of the fifteenth century. He repaired to Rome about the year 1400, at which time he was, by the Pope's provision, advanced to the vacant See of Ferns, and soon after returned to Ireland when he was immediately put in possession of the temporalities. During his incumbency the Church of Ardcolm had been appropriated to the Abbey of Sts. Peter and Paul at Selskar. The amiable disposition of this Prelate as

* Ware's Writers.

well as his learning had served to render him exceedingly popular. In 1410, he undertook, though with great reluctance, the office of Chancellor at that time vacant by the resignation of Archbishop Cranely, which situation he filled for three years with great applause. He has written a Catalogue of his predecessors in the See of Ferns and died the 10th of April, 1415.*

PHILIP NORRIS, a Secular Priest, repaired at an early age to the University of Oxford, where he was educated and honoured with the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Having returned to his native country about the year 1427, he withdrew to the County of Louth and was promoted to the Vicarage of Dundalk, by its patron John Blakeny. Anxious to advance himself still more in the pursuit of literature he at length made application to the Primate, John Swayn, who allowed him to retire to the Continent, on condition that he should return to his Vicarage within seven years and in the mean time provide for his Church by placing it under the administration of a vigilant curate. Philip, however, had not returned to his parish within the time specified by the Archbishop, on which account he was, in 1435, distrained in two parts of his Vicarage upon the Statute of Absentees.† A considerable part of his time had been spent in England, where Philip Norris had acquired a new degree of notoriety, by the unbecoming invectives which, on several public occasions, he had thought proper to pour out against the religious state and especially against the Mendicant Orders. At length a remonstrance was presented, on the part of the Dominicans, to Pope Eugene IV, which was immediately replied to by a rescript directed to the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin; ordering them to have the pastor Philip cited before them in consequence of his uncanonical conduct. The idea of a man intruding himself on the notice of the public by becoming

* Ware's Writers, p. 62.

† Regist. Swain, Tom. i. p. 634.

the vilifier of religious communities, while at the same time he had been practically abandoning his own flock, was alone sufficient to create a general sentiment of indignation against him. Philip accordingly made a most prompt and humble submission; he received forgiveness at the hands of his superiors and was allowed to return to his parish. Not many years after, Philip Norris obtained the Prebendary of Yaggoston in St. Patrick's Church, Dublin, and at length became Dean of that Cathedral, where he died, A.D. 1487. He has written* "Declarationes quasdam," Lib. I.—"Lecturas Scripturarum," Lib. I.—"Sermones ad Populum," Lib. I.—"Contra Mendicitatem Validam," Lib. I.

MALACHY O'LACHNAN, a learned Secular Priest of the diocese of Killaloe, contributed, about the close of this century, to diffuse a spirit of religious fervour among the faithful by a variety of productions both in prose and verse. The history of this invaluable writer, like that of many of his contemporaries, has perished; while the annals of those times have merely recorded the year of his death, 1489, and a work of his entitled "Antiquum Missale," containing a collection of prayers and lessons out of the sacred Scriptures.†

CHARLES MAGUIRE, the celebrated author of the Annals of Ulster, flourished at the close of the fifteenth century. He was a native of the County of Fermanagh, a Canon of the Church of Armagh and Dean of Clogher. This learned ecclesiastic ranked among the most distinguished of his day, as an Antiquarian, a Philosopher, and a Divine, and has written "Annales Hiberniæ usque ad sua tempora." These Annals are sometimes termed, *Annales Senatenses* from a place called Senat-Mac-Magnus, where they had been compiled,‡ they are, however, more generally known by the title *Annales Ultonienses* or the Annals of Ulster, because in them

* Bale, Cent. xiv. No. 99.

† Harris's Writers.

‡ Acta SS. c. xiii.—O'Flaherty's Ogygia.

are chiefly recorded all the most interesting events that have occurred in that province. They commence at the year of Christ, 444 and come down to the death of the author, 1495. These Annals were revised by Roderick Cassady and continued to the year 1541. Charles Maguire has likewise written a work entitled "*Ængusius Auctus*" or the Martyrology of *Ængus* enlarged;* in which he inserts the biography of those saints omitted by *Ængus*, and draws his information from the writings of Marian Gorman and other martyrologists. He was also the author of certain Scholia or Annotations on the Registry of Clogher. This learned writer, to whom the Irish nation is so deeply indebted, continued his laborious researches until the period of his death, which occurred on the 23rd of March, A.D. 1495.

During the fifteenth century, the events of the nation both ecclesiastical and civil appear to have directed their course through the same continued channel and much in the same fashion as in the age which had already passed by; governors chancellors and justices succeeded each other with a rapidity even unprecedented, enactments were passed which could have no other effect than to exasperate the already outraged feelings of the native Irish without the pale, while the rulers of the day, afraid to venture beyond the borders and still anxious to raise their fortune on the ruins of the country, were obliged to have recourse to the lowest shifts of fraud and very often to a monopoly of the estates belonging by right immemorial to the altar and the sanctuary. The usual scheme of keeping many of the rich sees vacant for a series of years, although an obsolete one, was as fondly cherished as ever, and while the poverty of the exchequer had been deplored in tones deep and eleemosynary, the property belonging to the church was sure to be diverted from its proper source and turned into a different channel.

* Acta, SS. c. v.

Another feature, peculiarly characteristic of the fifteenth century, appears to have arisen out of the use which had at this period been made of the ecclesiastical authority. The censures of the Church have been often employed and were found a most effectual remedy for the suppression of crime when all other means became ineffectual; but the conversion of this spiritual power into a state instrument was looked upon at this period as a grievance loudly and universally deprecated. We have seen, that by a statute of the Irish parliament under Edward IV, the Prelates of the kingdom had been obliged, under the penalty of one hundred pounds, to pronounce sentence of excommunication on such of the King's subjects as the authorities should think proper to denounce disaffected; nor had the indenture of an Irishman or his subjection to the government been ratified but on the express condition of his readiness to submit to such censures. In times like these, when a reclamation against palpable abuses had been construed into an indisputable mark of disaffection, this statute could have no other effect than to render desperate the already fermented state of the public mind; it was in the power of the civil officer to put his own construction on the act of the subject, and were he maliciously inclined he might at once create a collision between the clergy and the people alike injurious to religion and society. By the wisdom and temperance of the Prelates these evils were however averted. At length this enactment, odious in itself and detested by all, became a dead letter, and the maxim was now more generally acknowledged, that justice dispensed with an impartial hand is the only steady and permanent basis on which the fidelity of a people and the tranquillity of an empire can securely rest.

Between the prevalence of disease and the awful pressure of the times, the spirit of the nation was, at the close of the fifteenth century, considerably broken down. During all these severe visitations, the convent and the monastery were

so many asylums, within whose friendly gates, the victim of disease as well as the child of poverty found shelter and relief. Among these establishments a considerable number had, by the very nature of their institute and by the express provision of the founders, been public hospitals and national alms-houses; property to an immense amount had been left in trust to them, while the dispensers of these alms, influenced by religion, devoted their lives to the noble task of alleviating the wants and soothing the sorrows of their fellow-creatures. The origin and nature of this religious property, consecrated as it had been to the service of the poor, have been already sufficiently explained; the unfeeling manner in which it had been torn from them shall be faithfully developed in the history of the subsequent chapters.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Schism under Henry VIII—Its introduction into Ireland—George Brown attempts to establish the Supremacy of Henry VIII—Has recourse to legislative enactments—Sacriligious conduct of the schismatics—Heretical doctrines promulgated under Edward VI—George Dowdal, Archbishop of Armagh—History of Staples and Bale—Public discussion in St. Mary's-abbey—Account of Travers, Lancaster and Casey—Restoration of the ancient faith under Mary—Elizabeth Queen of England—Protestantism enforced by law—Its insignificant progress in Ireland—Persecution of the Irish Church—Defection of Miler Magrath and of Hugh Curwin—History of the Catholic bishops and priests who suffered under Elizabeth—Irish Colleges on the Continent—Awful state of the Church of Ireland at the close of the sixteenth century.

From the moment in which the English had formed the design of invading Ireland religion was the grand pretext on which the justification of all their proceedings was supposed to have been grounded. When Henry II had, through the agency of John of Salisbury, applied for the bull of Adrian IV, a reformation of morals was the object contemplated.* In like manner when the brief of Alexander III had been put into the hands of the same Monarch, religion was again introduced, and "the rude and disordered Church of Ireland was to have been placed on the principles of rigorous and re-

* See Cent. xii. c. i.

formed discipline." How all these noble objects had been accomplished; how religion, education and humanity had been advanced by those adventurers, from the moment in which they first landed in Ireland down to the present period, both the civil and ecclesiastical records of the country bear a melancholy and an awful testimony. The events of the sixteenth century will form a new act in this historical tragedy; and although the characters be different and the scenery be altered, yet the frame work, the machinery is the same; and the sacred name of religion is still employed as the pivot upon which the design and execution of the whole plot are to be kept together and supported.

Henry VIII succeeded his father on the throne of England in 1509. If contemporary writers may be credited, this young Prince, then in his nineteenth year, had been highly gifted with many natural endowments both of mind and body. These blessings, however, were soon abused; while experience shows that such characters, when once abandoned to the fury of their passions, generally become the most desperate of profligates. Shortly before his accession to the throne and in compliance with his father's request, Henry married, by particular dispensation, Catherine, Princess of Arragon, the betrothed wife of his brother Arthur. From the desperate means resorted to by Henry, for the purpose of invalidating this marriage and his illicit attachment to Anne Boleyn, a door was opened to schism, plunder and profanation throughout the English dominions about seventeen years afterwards.

Meanwhile the fifth general council of Lateran had been summoned in 1512, and on the part of the Irish Church there attended at it Mauritius de Portu, Archbishop of Tuam, together with Thomas Halsay, Bishop of Leighlin.* About the same period, two provincial synods had been held

* See chap. iii. and Binius' Conc. 9 Tom.

in Dublin;* and in 1523, a national synod was convened at Galway.† It is to be regretted that the decrees of this last synod have not been handed down to us. Some writers have been led to conjecture that the doctrines of Luther, which had at the time been gaining ground over the Continent, might have formed one of the principal causes for thus convening the prelates of the Irish nation, and that measures had been taken to prevent the contagion of heresy and schism from getting any access to the faithful in this country: it is, however, far more probable, that morals and local discipline were the only subjects which had on this occasion been brought under discussion.

It is unnecessary to occupy any space in this chapter, by entering into a detail of the origin and nature of those innovations which Martin Luther had at this time been preaching up, in defiance to the Catholic Church with which Christ had promised to abide for ever, and in manifest contradiction to all that was great or grand in antiquity—to the learning, the wisdom and the sanctity of ages. Like every other heresy that sprung up in the Church, that of Luther may be readily traced to its proper source. There never yet appeared a heresy or a schism in the Christian world, that did not take its rise either from disappointed ambition, or revenge, or lust; or more properly speaking, from the three put together. When Luther's noxious tenets had been making their way through Germany, among the many publications which appeared, that in defence of the seven sacraments may be noticed and of which Henry VIII had been at least the reputed author. It was dedicated to Pope Leo, on which occasion Henry obtained from that Pontiff the distinguished title of *Defender of the Faith*; a title still retained by his successors on the throne of England.

Henry had now lived upwards of seventeen years with his

* See chap. ii.

† Ware's Bishops, p. 6.

lawful wife Catherine, when all the symptoms of his real, natural character began to shew themselves. He suffered himself to become the victim of one of those passions already mentioned, and thus the orthodoxy of Henry in England as well as the faith of Luther in Germany were both wrecked and perished alike on the same rock.

The divorce, which the King had so anxiously sought for, could not be obtained; while Wolsey, his principal agent, after having at first acted the part of a time-serving sycophant, fell at length under the King's displeasure and died in disgrace. However, in 1533, Henry found a willing and a ready instrument in Cranmer, who had been that very year promoted to the See of Canterbury: the marriage ceremony was privately performed between the King and Anne Boleyn, while Cranmer pronounced the former marriage with Catherine to be null and void from the beginning. To complete the iniquity of this proceeding, the instrumentality of the legislature was employed; as if human laws could possibly loosen that which was already bound in heaven. In the parliament which met on the following January the act of Cranmer was confirmed, and at the same time Henry was declared the only Supreme head on earth of the Church of England. In this manner did the schism commence; on the following year an act was passed for the suppression of religious houses, and the confiscation of ecclesiastical property became general over England.

Henry's next object was to devise means by which his newly assumed title might be recognized in Ireland. For this purpose he consulted the notorious Cromwell, who, from being a menial in Wolsey's kitchen, had become Chancellor of England and under the new supremacy was constituted Vicar General both in spirituals and temporals. Cromwell already a Lutheran at heart, readily entered into the views of his master; experience had made him acquainted with the ruling passions of the Monarch, while the spoils, which he

now anticipated from the wealthy and extensive monasteries of Ireland, presented means ample enough for their most extravagant and uncontrolled gratification.

The See of Dublin having at that time been vacant, Cromwell's first object was to select a fit instrument by which both the English schism and the tenets of Lutheranism might, with the more effect, be circulated from the metropolis. George Brown an Augustinian, and at that time provincial of that Order in England, was the person whom Cromwell considered best adapted for the accomplishment of his designs.* Brown had been previously a rank Lutheran and under the mask of a grave and religious deportment lay concealed a heart and a mind fitted for the most desperate enterprize. He was accordingly consecrated in London by Cranmer and immediately after sailed for Dublin, accompanied by certain commissioners whom the King had appointed as assistants in preaching up the doctrine of lay-supremacy to the people of Ireland. Before their departure from London they underwent the necessary course of instructions: the nobility were to be overawed by threats—splendid promises and high prospects were to be held out to the ecclesiastical body; while bribery on the one hand and the King's displeasure on the other were to be alternately employed according as the subject might seem to require. Thus furnished they set out for Dublin, confident that the clergy, nobility and people of Ireland would at once cheerfully enter into their measures. On their arrival in that city they soon learned to their disappointment that the task was not so easy as they had been led to imagine. Some of the prelates and as many of the nobility as could conveniently attend having been summoned to the Castle, Brown undertook to open his commission and gravely called on them to subscribe to the strange and astounding doctrine of the spiritual supremacy of Henry, King of England.

* Rymer, Tom. iv. p. 560.

The announcement of such a proposition was heard by all present with astonishment, while the Primate, George Cromer, instantly rose from his seat and openly protested against it as an innovation: the same day he issued letters to all his suffragans; likewise to the clergy of his province and summoned them before him. The daring attempt of raising a schism in Ireland, and the profane conduct of the Archbishop of Dublin were explained by the Primate to his clergy: he called on them to gather around and support the religion of their fathers; and in the mean time emissaries were despatched to Rome, for the purpose of acquainting the sovereign Pontiff with the nature of the schism by which the Church of Ireland was now for the first time so formidably threatened.

The excitement which had, by this time, been created among all ranks both in and out of the pale, became alarming. The descendants of the ancient Irish looked upon death as preferable to an abandonment of the creed of their ancestors; while the English inhabitants of the pale manfully resisted the schism and clung faithfully to the Apostolic chair. Brown, thus disappointed, would have fled from Ireland at the time, but he dreaded the resentment of Henry: he trembled at the prospect of the scaffold which doubtless would have been prepared for him had he ventured to return to England. In the mean time he addressed a letter to Cromwell, acquainting him with the forlorn prospect of his affairs; he assures him, that the King's commission had been treated with contempt—that he and his Vicegeneralship became the subject of public scorn—that so steadfast were the Irish people in clinging to the ancient faith that they might be said to equal if not to excel the heroism of the primitive martyrs—and in short, that nothing less than the authority of parliament and the enforcement of rigorous laws could extort from them even a partial acknowledgement of the King's claim to the title of supremacy.

Agreeably to these instructions, the Deputy, Lord Grey,

received orders to summon a parliament, which accordingly met at Dublin on the first of May, 1536. In this servile assembly, which served as a sort of after-piece to the conventicle held already at Westminster, Henry VIII was declared the sole and supreme head, on earth, of the Church of Ireland: all appeals to the court of Rome in spiritual causes were prohibited, while any subject, who should in future attempt to maintain the supremacy of the Apostolic See, was to be apprehended and rendered subject to a *præmunire*.* Thus through the means of a corrupt parliament and the terrors of a tyrant, did schism for the first time get a footing in this country.

These enactments would, however, have been of little avail in advancing the object of Brown's mission had they not been aided by some more powerful considerations. The state authority with which in those times ecclesiastical dignitaries had been not unfrequently invested and above all the princely revenues attached to some of the sees were in themselves a perpetual source of temptation, against which human nature, when left to its own resources, would find it a difficult task to contend. It is to causes such as these that we must trace the defection of Eugene Magennis, Bishop of Down and Connor, whose example was immediately adopted by Roland Burke, Bishop of Clonfert, Florence Gerawan, Bishop of Clonmacnois, Matthew Saunders, Bishop of Leighlin and Hugh O'Cervallan, Bishop of Clogher.† These Prelates, although invested with the administration of the respective sees had not as yet been placed in possession of the temporalities; they swore fealty to Henry in the year 1541 and thereby received the wages of their sinful servility. Among the second order of the clergy there had been a few who, from similar motives, scrupled not to compromise their religious principles by detaching themselves from the Unity

* Vide Statutes 28th, Henry VIII.

† Liber Alunorum Publicorum Hib. v. ii. p. 17 et seq.

of the Catholic Church. Dominick Tirrey, Rector of the Church of Shandon, in the City of Cork, was advanced to that See by Henry VIII and held possession of the temporalities until his death, although Lewis Macnamara had been promoted thereto by provision of Pope Paul III.* William Miagh had in like manner been placed over the See of Kildare and became a member of the privy council—while Alexander Devereux, Abbot of Dunbrody, after having made a surrender of that splendid establishment and subscribed to the new supremacy, was immediately elevated to the See of Ferns. Before, however, this act had been put into execution he had taken care to provide in a manner the most ample for the future comforts of his own family. Having appropriated a considerable portion of the possessions of the Abbey, he bestowed on Stephen Devereux the estate of Battletown with all the lands extending from the moor of Clonard to Bishop's lands and to the mearings of Ballymathy. He continued in the See until 1566, during which year he died at Fethard, a village in the County of Wexford, where he was interred in the chancel of the parish church.

The great moving passion, which had hitherto worked the schism through all its stages, soon began to make its appearance: the spirit of avarice was to be appeased by plunder, and accordingly an act was passed for the suppression of religious houses. In this manner did the work of destruction commence, while Brown with his associates was among the first to pull down the cross from the altar and revel amidst the profanation of the sacred vessels of the sanctuary. Gray the Deputy had now that opportunity in his hands which he had long wished for in his heart. For years was he compelled to throw himself on the remnants of a shattered fortune; but the means which he now enjoyed of repairing it were more than sufficient to silence those occasional whisperings of con-

* Ware's Bishops.

science which might perchance still linger in his breast. While the schismatics in Dublin had been enriching themselves with the spoils of the sanctuary in that City, the Lord Deputy was actively engaged in plundering the churches of Ulster. The splendid and venerable Cathedral of Down was first gutted and afterwards burned to the ground by this incendiary; at the same time the tombs and relics of Sts. Patrick, Brigid and Columbkille were demolished and the ashes scattered with the winds of heaven. The image of the Blessed Virgin was torn from the high altar of the Abbey of Trim and profaned in the public market: the relics of the martyrs after having been turned into mockery were cast on the streets and thrown out on the high-ways; while the image of Christ crucified was brought from the Abbey of Ballibogan and the crozier of St. Patrick from Christ Church, and were both indignantly committed to the flames.* But the confiscation of the property belonging to the religious houses was that on which the plunderers had been most particularly intent. Among the abbeys which had been at this time suppressed, the most celebrated were those of Mellifont in the County of Louth—Jerpoint and Graignemanagh in the County of Kilkenny—Baltinglass, in the County of Wicklow—Dunbrody, Tintern and Ferns, in the County of Wexford.—Tracton, in the County of Cork—Abbingdon in the County of Limerick—Monasterevin in Offaly, and Trim, Duleek and Bectiff in the County of Meath—Among the priories may be mentioned, those of St. John of Jerusalem, (Kilmainham)—The Holy Trinity (Christ Church) Dublin—Conal and St. Wolstan's in the County of Kildare—Kenlis in Ossory—St. Patrick's in Down—All Saints near Dublin—Athassell in the County of Tipperary and the Priory of the Blessed Virgin in the town of Louth.† In the parliament held under St. Leger in 1541, an act was passed, granting the full and free disposal of all the

* Register Eccl.—Ware's Annals of Henry VIII. p. 99.

† See chap. ii.

abbies and priories to the King, who, as Ware remarks, soon after disposed of their possessions to his nobles, courtiers and others, reserving to himself certain revenues or annual rents:* by another act of this parliament, Henry was, for the first time, solemnly proclaimed King of Ireland.

The multiplied indignities thus outrageously heaped upon the Irish people—the attempt to wrest from them the sacred deposit handed down by their fathers—the sacrilegious insults offered to their altars and the public plunder of their churches and religious establishments had so powerfully worked on their national and religious feelings, that in a short time the whole nation rose up in arms. The Catholics of the North were led on by O'Neil; O'Brien of Thomond had the command of the army in the South.† Owing, however, to that unfortunate spirit of rivalry and division which has at all times been the bane and curse of Ireland, these leaders began to despair of being able to make head against the common enemy, and submission to the English power was the consequence. Henry, however, was too artful not to learn a lesson from the experience of the past. He was well aware that conciliation and kindness, although forced and affected, were more formidable engines in winning over the hearts of Irishmen than all the terrors arising from the dungeon or the scaffold. Accordingly he invited almost all the Irish chieftains to repair to his court—received them with gracious favour—conferred on them honours and dignities, and sent them back with every assurance of his royal confidence and loaded with gifts and presents.

While Henry VIII and his courtiers had been thus rioting amidst the profanation of the Church, Brown and his partisans were determined on raising the whole fabric of Luther's heretical doctrines on the foundation of the schism which had been already laid. Their intentions had at first been

* Ware's Annals, p. 105.

† Holinshead, p. 190.—Stanihurst.

artfully disguised, and the whole plot, not having emanated from the royal fountain, was obliged to be conducted with great craft and secrecy. In fact Henry VIII, with all his impiety, never attempted to espouse the heresy of Luther—all he wanted was money and the unbridled gratification of his infamous passions. These made up his religion, his heaven and his God; and he enjoyed them all by the schism which he caused, and by the plunder of the monastic establishments. Henry, then, was a schismatic; but there is no proof that he was ever a heretic. As soon as he discovered that heresy had found its way into his dominions, he became, it is said, most indignant; but he little expected that Cromwell his Vicar General and Brown his favourite should become the most active agents in giving circulation to such tenets. At all events, Henry summoned the parliament in 1539 and caused an act to be passed, usually termed the six Articles, by which it was made criminal to deny the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament—the administration of the Eucharist under one kind—the celibacy of the clergy—the obligation of vows of chastity—private Mass and auricular confession. The King gave his sanction to these articles, and death was to be the punishment of those, who should oppose them obstinately; or severe imprisonment according to his Majesty's pleasure.

The Primate, George Cromer, after an incumbency embittered by continued troubles died in 1542. Upon his death, Henry, through the influence of the Deputy St. Leger, had George Dowdall, Vicar General to the late Primate, appointed to the vacant See;* while at the same time the learned Robert Waucop, though blind from his infancy, was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh by Pope Paul III.† This Prelate was a native of Ireland, became a doctor of divinity at Paris, was afterwards appointed Legate *a Latere* from the

* See chap. ii.

† Hist. Cath. T. ii.—Ware's Annals.

Pope to Germany and was present at the Council of Trent from the first Session in 1545 to the eleventh in 1547. By the exertions of this extraordinary man, the Jesuits had, in 1541, been introduced into Ireland. John Codur was the first of the society who had settled in this country; Alphonso Salmeron, Paschase Broet and Francis Zapata arrived soon after. The Archbishop Waucop never returned to his See: he was employed in the management of several important commissions on the Continent until 1551, in which year he died at Paris and was interred in a convent of the Jesuits, in that city.*

In the year 1546, Henry VIII was drawing near his end—during his unfortunate career on this earth, he was a living sink of lust and a wretched victim to the vilest passions. He lived a tyrant, hated and dreaded by all, and he died as he lived on the 28th of January, 1547. He had six wives, two of whom were repudiated; two beheaded; one died in child-bed, and the last would have ended her days on a scaffold, had Providence permitted the monster to continue much longer on earth.

The Council of Trent had been holding its Sessions since the year 1545, and although religion and the state of society had been at that period frightfully convulsed in Ireland, there had been in attendance at the Council Thomas O'Herlihy, Bishop of Ross, Donagh Mac-Congall, Bishop of Raphoe and Eugene O'Harit, Bishop of Achonry.†

Henry VIII was succeeded on the throne of England by his son Edward, then in the tenth year of his age. The Duke of Somerset, the young King's maternal uncle assumed the title of Protector and for a time continued to govern the kingdom with even more despotic sway than had ever marked the career of Henry himself. Somerset was a rank Lutheran: he had already caused the tenets of Protestantism to be en-

* O'Sullivan, p. 79.

† Ware's Bishops.

forced in England; the book of common prayer had been compiled by his directions and his reformation, as it is called, was, by the terrors of the prison and the gibbet, making rapid strides over that country. Having thus far succeeded, he judged it now time to make the experiment on Ireland. It was first intended to summon the parliament and commence by penal statutes. This scheme having been, however, for the present abandoned, a proclamation was issued, enjoining the performance of the new liturgy of the English Church in all places of worship, with orders that all bishops and parish priests throughout the kingdom should at the same time yield their assent and conform to the royal mandate.*

That the schism of Henry would at length break out into open heresy was indeed expected. The prelates and clergy of Ireland foresaw that the surrender of their faith would, at some time, be demanded from them; they were accordingly prepared to submit to any sacrifice sooner than renounce the creed of their fathers. Among the foremost in opposing the innovation was George Dowdall, Primate of Armagh: Brown of Dublin espoused the cause of the innovators, and on the following Easter Sunday, A.D. 1551, he caused the new liturgy to be for the first time read in the Cathedral of Christ Church, in his own presence, that of the Deputy and a few of the magistrates.

The Deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger, not finding the prelates so submissive to the orders of the proclamation as had been expected, caused writs to be formally directed to all the archbishops and bishops of the kingdom, in pursuance of which they were summoned to appear before him in Dublin. The meeting took place in the council chamber, but no sooner had the Deputy concluded with reading the proclamation than the Primate George Dowdall arose and openly protested against the whole scheme as a daring innovation. The

* *Ex Actis Consist.*

Primate forthwith retired from the room while the entire body of the clergy who were present departed along with him, except the unhappy Brown, Staples, Bishop of Meath and John Bale an itinerant Carmelite, who was soon after thrust into the See of Ossory, as the price of his apostacy.

Staples was a native of Lincolnshire and held for some time a situation in the hospital of St. Bartholomew in London. During the schism in Henry's reign his orthodoxy became the subject of just suspicion, while by his immoral conduct he is said to have forfeited almost every mark of respect from his flock.* On the other hand, Bale was well known to be one of those dangerous, rambling adventurers, who, in times like the period of which we are treating, hawk about their conscience from one mart to another, ever ready to tender it to the highest and best bidder. He was born in the County of Suffolk, but became a Carmelite at Norwich.† Taking advantage of the general confusion which had prevailed, Bale fled from his Convent and set out by preaching sedition first in York and afterwards in London, for which he was cast into prison. Here he would have remained, had he not abandoned his faith: Bale became an apostate, made application to Cromwell, and was set at liberty. Not meeting with much encouragement in England he made his way into Germany, but that country having been already overstocked with too much merchandize of the same description, he took his leave of the *reformers* there and set sail for Ireland. Soon after the meeting already mentioned Bale was consecrated by George Brown and placed in the See of Ossory. The infamous conduct of this intruder, during the few months which he spent in Kilkenny, was not to be tolerated by the Catholic inhabitants of that City; for while he was in the act of reviling their religion and of making a jest of their faith he was assailed by the populace; five of his domestics

* Rymer, Tom. xv. p. 206.

† Scriptorum Britan. cent. viii.

were slain and he himself narrowly escaped. Bale enjoyed his ill-gotten dignity but six months, when Mary ascended the throne. Dreading that vengeance would at length overtake him and feeling no burning desire for enjoying the palm of martyrdom, he suddenly disappeared and took refuge in Switzerland. John Bale never returned to Ossory: during the reign of Elizabeth he came back, it is said, to England, where he spent the remainder of his days in comparative obscurity and died about the year 1563.*

Brown, Staples and Bale may serve as excellent samples of the other reformers of the sixteenth century. These are the sort of characters that came over to this country from England, to turn into scorn that ancient and venerable faith by the belief and practice of which, in the days of our sainted forefathers, the name of Ireland was extolled over Europe. The Cyprians, the Jeromes and the Augustines of former days are to sink in the shade—the Fathers of antiquity were all in the dark—the whole Christian world was one melancholy chaos, over which the gloom and horrors of night had been hovering for fifteen hundred years, until, at length, the divorce of Henry VIII, Luther's disappointment and the rich plunder of the altar and the sanctuary raised up such men as George Brown and John Bale, and the moment they appeared, all was brightness, forsooth, and the world was again enlightened. Their qualifications as Theologians and their admirable method of reasoning are elegantly of a piece with the rest of their character. When at the meeting convened in the council chamber the Primate with his prelates had quitted the assembly and Brown had taken the proclamation in his hands, he stood up and addressed these words to the few individuals who had still remained in the room.—“This order, good brethren, is from our gracious King and from the rest of our brethren of England. Unto whom I

* Rymer, Tom. xv. p. 563.

submit, as did Christ to Cæsar, in all things just and lawful, making no question, why or wherefore; as we own him our true and lawful King.”* The excellence of this reasoning can be equalled only by the consistency which must at once appear between the obedient language of this brief address and the principle of individual judgment, of which these dogmatizers had made so great a boast. The Archbishop Brown will put no question—not even why or wherefore; and yet will he tell his followers—take the Scripture—ask why and wherefore—acknowledge no tribunal and be your own judge of controversy.

The public disputation which, at the special desire of the Viceroy, had taken place soon after in St. Mary’s Abbey, in the presence of the clergy and a vast concourse of people, had nearly contributed to give the fatal blow to Protestantism in Ireland.† The doctrines of the Catholic Church were powerfully defended by the Primate; while Staples of Meath appeared as the advocate of the heterodox party. The Catholics in triumph claimed the honour of victory; but wealth and titles were advantages which exclusively belonged to the state party and rendered them as obstinate in their movements as ever. After this signal defeat, it was apprehended that an attempt would have been made on the life of Archbishop Dowdall; at all events the King and Council of England deprived him of the title of Primate which was conferred on the See of Dublin, and he was soon after obliged to withdraw to the Continent. An Englishman, named Goodacre, was substituted in his place and on the following February was consecrated by Brown in the Cathedral of Christ Church.

Bribes, threats and promises were now held out in great abundance—stations of trust and honour were presented to the laity: promotions, wealth and pleasure were placed before

* Ware’s Life of Brown, p. 156.

† MS. Lovanien.

the eyes of the clergy. To the honour of the Irish priesthood, be it stated, all these alluring temptations to recreancy had been spurned and treated with contempt. Out of the whole episcopal body, as it stood in the beginning of the reign of Edward VI, not one could be induced to abandon the religion of his Fathers, except Staples, Bishop of Meath, together with Magenis of Down and Burke of Clonfert, both of whom, under the influence of their avaricious propensities, had long since subscribed to the schismatical law-doctrines of Henry VIII. Besides Bale of whom mention has been already made, there were some few priests weak and wicked enough to follow his example, and these immediately after their apostacy were recompensed with mitres, riches and pleasures in exchange for their faith. The number of these ecclesiastics was not indeed considerable—three only are mentioned in any of our authentic annals, namely, Robert Travers, Thomas Lancaster and William Casey. Travers was consecrated Bishop of Leighlin in 1550 and became the first Protestant Bishop of that ancient See. Ware represents him as a cruel and covetous man, and an oppressor of the clergy: the same writer refers to the testimony of Thadeus Dowling, Chancellor of Leighlin, as his authority.* Lancaster was consecrated during the same year by Brown and placed in the See of Kildare. The revenues of that diocese not having been considered sufficiently ample to meet the various demands of his extravagance, the deanery of Kilkenny was annexed as a supplement to it. Lancaster and Travers were, however obliged to retire in the reign of Queen Mary: they were both deposed by George Dowdall Archbishop of Armagh. The third individual, William Casey, was consecrated likewise by Brown in 1551, and was immediately after promoted to the bishopric of Limerick.† As soon as Mary began to remove intruders out of the Church,

* Ware's Bishops, p. 44.

† Id.—Lib. Mun. Public.

Casey, like his companion, John Bale of Ossory, judged it more prudent to retreat from the conflict; he accordingly retired in company with his wife to some part of the Continent.

During the reign of Edward VI, notwithstanding the various means that had been resorted to, the cause of Protestantism made very little progress in Ireland. The English inhabitants of the pale as well as the native Irish openly denounced it as an innovation, and wherever its doctrines had been circulated, treachery, turbulence, and ruin were but a few of the many evils which inseparably followed in its train.* Edward, however, continued to reign but six years, five months and twenty-two days: and Mary ascended the throne on the 6th of July, 1553.

The restoration of the ancient religion of the country, the return of the Primate and the removal of immoral ecclesiastics are the principal events that characterize the reign of this Princess. At the time of Edward's death and during the administration of Crofts, the state of Catholicity in Ireland was deplorable. The clergy, in many places, were obliged to retire and conceal themselves from the fury of their pursuers; churches and places of worship were closed, the celebration of the divine mysteries was suspended, and religion appeared to have been threatened with all the horrors of sanguinary persecution. Providence, however, interfered; and on Mary's accession to the throne the clergy were again placed over their flocks, while the friends of order and of morality began to congratulate each other on the anticipated downfall of novelty and on the happy restoration of ecclesiastical discipline and ancient truth. The return of George Dowdall to the Archiepiscopal See of Armagh, in 1553, gave reality to these expectations. No sooner had this excellent Prelate been replaced in his See, than he commenced the real work of religious reform. For

* O'Sullivan, p. 120 et seq.

this purpose he convened a national synod in St. Peter's Church at Drogheda, at which almost all the Catholic bishops of the kingdom attended. "In it, (says Ware,) several decrees were made for reviving the rites that had been formerly practised in the Church; and some decrees were also passed against ecclesiastical debauchees." On the following April, 1554, the Primate, together with William Walsh, Doctor of Divinity and afterwards Bishop of Meath, received a royal commission, investing them with authority to proceed against immoral ecclesiastics and to depose those prelates, who by their recreancy had done such mischief to the fold of Christ. Accordingly, on the 29th of June, Edward Staples Bishop of Meath was removed from his See. Brown, Archbishop of Dublin, was punished in the same manner, and immediately after Lancaster of Kildare and Travers of Leighlin were likewise deposed.*

The Archiepiscopal See of Dublin having now become vacant by the removal of George Brown, Hugh Curwin a native of Westmorelandshire, Archdeacon of Oxford and Chaplain to the Queen was appointed to succeed him and was consecrated in St. Paul's Church, London, in September 1555. On his departure for Ireland, he was furnished with a letter from her Majesty to the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church;† which mark of royal condescension, the Archbishop Curwin afterwards very badly repaid: During the reign of Mary he appeared a firm supporter of Catholicity, but when that Princess was no more, and that Protestantism had in all its terrors been revived under Elizabeth, the ungrateful Curwin forgot all his former protestations and became, if possible, even a more abandoned character than Brown, his heterodox predecessor in the See,

The rigorous measures pursued at this time in England by the Queen's Ministers are condemned by some and justified by

* Ware's Annals, Jus Primatiale.

† Ware's Annals.

others. One thing, however, is certain, truth stands not in need of such auxiliary; and particularly the truths of the Catholic Church. These rest not on the terrors of the rack or of the prison, but on the foundation of the rock, upheld by the unerring promises of Christ himself. During the repetition of these frightful scenes, it is remarkable that no blood had been spilt in Ireland on the score of religion. An inherent generosity and that spirit of forgiveness so peculiar to Irishmen may satisfactorily account for this most happy circumstance. Moreover, the very inconsiderable progress which Protestantism had at that time made in Ireland and the class of individuals by whom it was advocated had tended to create among all ranks one general feeling of contempt rather than any sentiment of satisfaction or revenge. It is well known that several English families had at that period repaired to this country, where they found an hospitable asylum and were sheltered from the fury of the storm by the generous and noble-minded Catholics of Ireland.*

On the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, in 1558, a new era commences, and in the sacred name of the Gospel of peace torrents of Christian blood are let flow. Elizabeth, by education a bigot and by nature an unprincipled dissembler, had already resolved to uphold Protestantism and cause it to be established throughout her dominions. It was the only chance she had of keeping the sceptre secure in her hands. By the Pope and by the laws of the Catholic Church she was declared illegitimate; for which reason, had she professed Catholicity, her claim to the throne was upset, and Mary Queen of Scots would, by legitimate descent, have the best right to the crown of England. Hence Elizabeth was driven to the alternative either of renouncing her title and of being supplanted by a rival or of sacrificing conscience and proclaiming herself the advocate of Protestantism. The latter

* Ware's Annals.

was adopted and the means, which she employed, sufficiently evince what were the natural feelings of her mind and heart. For the purpose of overthrowing the ancient faith of Ireland and of raising Protestantism on its ruins, Elizabeth resolved to draw the sword and by penal edicts force her Catholic subjects to surrender the religion of their country and their fathers.

In 1559, the Lord Deputy Thomas, Earl of Sussex, received orders to summon a parliament. At that time the whole population of Ireland, both in and out of the pale, were almost without an exception Catholics: out of every ten thousand there was scarcely one of any other denomination: in fact, the great bulk of the nation knew not even the meaning of the word Protestant. The Parliament which had been packed on this occasion was little more than a legislative mockery; one-half of the nation having been disfranchised,* and even the few who had been summoned (seventy-six in number) were notoriously hired minions—bribed and corrupt tools in the hands of the government. The nobles of the country were at the time Catholics:† these therefore had been carefully excluded. In short, as Hooker remarks, “this assembly was more like a bear-beating of disorderly persons, than a parliament of wise and grave men.”‡ In this profligate and packed parliament, the first penal statutes had been framed for stripping the Irish of their religion and setting up Protestantism in its place. The following acts, selected as a specimen, may serve to give the reader some notion of the persecuting spirit by which the legislature had at this time been actuated.

I.—“Any clergyman, who refused to use the book of common prayer in his church, or who used any other form of worship, rite, ceremony, or manner of celebrating the Lord’s Supper,

* Leland, v. ii. p. 272.

† *Analecta Sacra*, part i. p. 47.

‡ Hooker apud Hollinshed, v.

openly or privily, than was laid down in the said book of common prayer, was to forfeit all the profit or income of his benefice, for one year, and also suffer imprisonment for six months. II.—For the second offence, he was to forfeit his income for ever and suffer imprisonment at pleasure. III.—For the third offence, he was to suffer imprisonment for life. IV.—Laymen, for the first offence, were to undergo imprisonment for one year, and for the second, imprisonment for life. V.—Every person in the kingdom, absenting himself from the usual place where common prayer was read on Sundays and Holydays, was subject to a fine of twelve pence and also to *the censures of the Church*.”* By express enactments, all appeals to Rome were strictly forbidden; the laws regarding religion which had been enacted in the reign of Mary were annulled, and every individual whether lay or ecclesiastic in possession of livings or offices was, under a penalty of forfeiting the same, obliged to come forward and take *the oath of Supremacy*. These acts of oppression filled the country with dismay: the churches became deserted, the clergy had, in most places, been obliged to fly and conceal themselves in the recesses of the mountain, while every unprincipled hypocrite was at liberty to tear down the altar, plunder the church and pollute the sanctuary. “All over the kingdom, (says Leland,) the people were left without any religious worship; and under pretence of obeying the order of state, they seized all the most valuable furniture of the churches, which they exposed to sale without decency or reserve.”† While the people of Ireland evinced an heroic determination to suffer death sooner than renounce the religion of their fathers, the innovators on their part demonstrated that blood, sacrilege and licentiousness were the frightful but favourite objects they had contemplated. That this truth may be placed before the reader in an unquestionable point of view, we shall

* Lib. Stat. p. 201.

† Leland, v. ii. p. 274.

take the liberty of briefly referring to the testimony of some of their own writers. "Whatever disorders (says Spencer,) you see in the established church through England, you may finde here, and many more—namely, *grosse simony, greedy covetousness, fleshy incontineny, carelesse sloath*, and generally *all disordered life* in the common clergyman."* "So deformed and overthrown a Church (says Sidney,) there is not, I am sure, in any region where the name of Christ is professed. Such horrible spectacles there are to behold, as the burning of villages, the ruin of churches, yea, the view of the bones and skulls of the dead, who partlie by murder partlie by famyn have died in the fields, as in troth hardelie any Christian with drie eies could beholde."† "I knew it was bad, (observes Strafford,) very bad in Ireland, but that it was so stark nought, I did not believe."‡ "There were few churches to resort to, (says Leland,) few teachers to exhort, fewer still who could be understood, and almost all, at least for the greater part of this reign, of scandalous insufficiency."§

Such are the characters, who came over to this country in the sixteenth century, for the purpose of upsetting the ancient religion of the nation. These are the individuals, with their *gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshy incontineny and disordered lives*, who had the barefaced impiety to pull down the altars erected and revered by the sainted Fathers of the Irish Church, trample on the cross of Christ and expose the sacred vessels of the sanctuary for sale in the public market.

It must not be surprising that such unexampled outrage on the feelings of the nation should have produced the most formidable reaction. O'Neil in the North and Desmond in the South had recourse to arms: the terrors of civil war spread from one extremity of the kingdom to the other—what

* Spencer, p. 139, 140.

† Sidney, v. i. p. 24, 109.

‡ Strafford, v. i. p. 187.

§ Leland, v. ii. p. 459.

escaped from the sword fell a victim to the flames, while the whole face of the country presented the hideous spectacle of one great, indiscriminate, national slaughter-house. In the midst of these awful scenes, the Catholic priesthood of Ireland stood by the people; many of them came forth, like the martyrs of old, and publicly preached against these novelties now attempted to be forced upon the nation. Among these apostolic men, William Walsh, a native of Waterford and Bishop of Meath, stood most conspicuous.* He denounced the innovators at Trim and all over his diocese, exposed the absurdities of their book of common prayer and proved it to be a compound of Calvinism, Lutheranism and exploded heresies long since anathematized by the Church of the Christian world. This zealous Prelate was arrested and cast into prison. After having suffered many indignities, he was at length, by the Queen's orders, banished the kingdom and (in 1577) died an exile at Complute in Spain, where he was interred in a Monastery of the Cistercian Order to which he belonged. At the same time Thomas Leverous, Bishop of Kildare, stood forth in defence of the Catholic faith and exposed the masked impiety of these self-constituted reformers. He also was bound in chains: by means of his friends, however, he effected his escape, and afterwards in order to gain a livelihood was reduced to the necessity of opening a school at Limerick. This venerable Prelate, worn down by the hand of time and sinking beneath an accumulation of sufferings, died at Naas, A.D. 1577, in the 80th year of his age.†

Notwithstanding the enactments of 1559 and the merciless rigour with which they had been executed, the clergy both secular and regular had found means of holding meetings and of arranging their ecclesiastical concerns occasionally in Dublin. For the purpose, therefore, of excluding them totally from the metropolis, the Earl of Essex issued a procla-

* Ware's Bishops.

† Id.—Cox's Hist. of Irel. p. 328.

mation in 1563, by which all priests secular and regular were interdicted either to meet or to take up their abode in the city; this instrument was moreover accompanied with a republication of the former edict obliging all heads of families to attend the Protestant service each Sunday or pay the fine specified by law.*

After the death of O'Neil, the ministry became more confident of success and made additional efforts to extend the new law-religion over the country. Between the statute-book, the informer and the sword, we may readily conceive what must have been the melancholy condition of the Church of Ireland at this period. The episcopal sees were laid desolate, the parish churches torn, plundered and profaned were to be seen in all directions of the kingdom without either a pastor or a congregation, while in the mean time whole groups of unprincipled English ecclesiastical adventurers were drafted over into Ireland, and on these the bishoprics and other church dignities were liberally conferred according as the Catholic clergy had been ejected out of the sees and parishes. These intruders, immediately on their appointment, had directions to suppress the Catholic institutions in the respective diocesses and to establish Protestant schools on their foundation.† To complete this system of juvenile proselytism a corresponding code of laws had been framed, by which parents were compelled to send their children to these schools: the violation of the statute was attended with pecuniary fines, which were soon after changed into penalties for high treason. In the meantime the notorious proclamation of 1559 underwent another edition, and every individual in the kingdom was again commanded to come forward and acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of Elizabeth.‡

Every means within the reach of refined and systematic cruelty had been now employed to seduce the Catholic priest-

* Ware's Annals. † Irish Statutes, p. 346. ‡ Peter Lombard, Com. de Lib. c. 10.

hood of Ireland and force from the people a surrender of their faith; the ingenuity of the persecutors had been exhausted, but the results which they anticipated were far from being attained: the firmness displayed by both priests and people became the admiration of their very enemies. There had been, indeed, some few exceptions; yet when the history of these frightful times is taken into account and its consequences in Ireland contrasted with that melancholy defection which had to a great extent taken place in other countries, it must be admitted that the fidelity of the Irish priesthood had at this time entitled them to the applause of all the great and enlightened nations of Europe. From among the whole body of the episcopal order we find but two solitary individuals whose apostacy stands on record. The names of these Prelates are Miler Magrath, Bishop of Down and afterwards translated to Cashel, and Hugh Curwin, Archbishop of Dublin.

Miler Magrath was a native of the County of Fermanagh and had at an early age embraced the institute of St. Francis.* That sordid spirit of avarice, which had afterwards so inseparably pursued him through life and which drew down on him, even from Protestant writers, such severe but well-merited reproaches, seems to have been the rock on which the faith of this Prelate unfortunately perished. The indulgence of this, his evidently predominant passion, had in the first instance disqualified him from embracing that humble institute, to which in the face of heaven he had solemnly bound himself, and the foundation whereof is poverty; rigorous, sublime, evangelical poverty. If the subsequent events of his life may be taken as a criterion, it would appear that Miler Magrath had thus made his way into the sanctuary, for the purpose of advancing himself to some station in which wealth and dignity might be found combined, and under the peculiar

* MS. in Archiv. Lovan.

circumstances of this age rendered instrumental to the gratification of his favourite passions. However, his attention or (as authenticated tradition will have it) his unabated obsequiousness to certain high personages both in Spain and in the Netherlands had after some time brought him into notice.* He was recommended in a manner the most flattering to Paul V, and by provision of that Pontiff was ultimately advanced to the See of Down. Miler, notwithstanding his consecration and canonical appointment to the See, was refused possession of the temporalities. He evinced for some time a considerable degree of resignation, despairing, however, of attaining the object on which his heart was placed, and blinded by that passion in which he had through life so fondly indulged, he lost sight of conscience, submitted to Elizabeth and renounced his religion. For the purpose of stimulating others to adopt the example of this fallen Prelate, he was soon after translated to Clogher and from thence to the united Sees of Cashel and Emly, in February 1571. The revenues of the Archdiocese not having been sufficient to meet the cravings of an indulged passion, Miler made still further advances and obtained a commendatory grant from Elizabeth, by which he held the Sees of Lismore and Waterford in his possession for a period of twenty-five years. These Sees he, however, resigned in 1607, having first received in the shape of retribution, the bishoprics of Killala and Achonry, both which diocesses he held until his death.† When to these we annex the Vicarage of Kilmacallan, the Rectory of *Infra duos pontes* in Elphin, the Rectories of Castle-Conor and Skrine in the diocese of Killala and the Prebend of Dougherney with the Rectory of Kilorhim in the diocese of Achonry,‡ some estimate may be formed of the temporal advantages which this unhappy Prelate had derived from the sacrifice of his conscience. He became infirm and

* MS. in Archiv. Lovan. fol. 33. † Ware's Bishops. ‡ Harris's Bishops.

had been confined to his bed during the last two years of his life. He died in December, 1622, at the advanced age of one hundred years.

That Miler Magrath, moved at the recollection of his past career, had at length retracted and died in the bosom of the Catholic Church is a fact, which, notwithstanding the contrary assertion of Protestant writers, cannot for a moment be questioned. For some time previously to his illness, this Prelate had formed the determination of retracing his steps, and to this effect he very properly communicated his intentions to the Reverend Maurice Ultan, at that time Provincial of the Franciscan Order in Ireland. This excellent superior undertook with readiness the execution of the charitable office now confided to his care; he repaired to Cashel and at the earnest request of Miler himself had, without delay, letters official addressed to the Nuncio Apostolic residing at Brussels and at that time entrusted with the management of the Irish Church. In reply to this communication, the Father Provincial received soon after a most satisfactory letter from the Nuncio; which document having, it is probable, been never before published, and being moreover elucidatory of the whole subject, we shall take the liberty of laying before the reader, both in the words of the original,* and in a fair, correct, literal translation.

* We here subjoin a copy of the original document, which written, signed and sealed by the Nuncio himself, is preserved in the archives of the Franciscan Convent at Wexford.

“Dilecto nobis in Christo admodum Reverendo.

“Accurate Legi quæ mihi significas circa personam Domini Mileri Magrait. Laudo summopere quam præ se fert ad Ecclesiæ gremium redeundi cogitationem. Poteris illum hortari serio ut susceptam mentem non deponat, sed potius illam ad exitum perducere omnibus nervis adnitatur, in eumque finem quanto maturius Hiberniam deserat. Ego salutem ipsius toto jam animo inhians, teneriori illum amplexu hic excipiam, daboque meis officiis operam, ut Sanctissimus Dominus noster clementer cum illo agat; planè mihi persuadens fore ut sua sanctitas paterna, quâ

VOL. II.

P

"To our beloved Very Reverend Father, in Christ.

"I have read with great attention all those particulars which you have signified to me regarding the individual, the Lord Miler Magrath. I praise exceedingly that thought which he has manifested of returning back to the bosom of the Church. It will be in your power seriously to exhort him not to abandon the resolution which he has formed but rather to employ all his strength and energy in bringing it to an issue, and for this purpose let him depart from Ireland as soon as possible. Anxious as I am at this moment and ardently solicitous for his salvation, I shall, on my part, receive him here with most tender affection and I shall, by every service and means in my power, endeavour to effect, that our most holy Father may act with clemency towards him; being fully persuaded that his Holiness will look on him returning once more to life, with the same paternal benevolence, which he is accustomed to extend to all, and will pardon his errors. May God protect thy paternity.

"Most affectionately.

"Brussels, 29 January, 1612.

"To our beloved, the Very Rev. Father in Christ,
"Maurice Ultan, Provincial of the Friars Minors in the kingdom of Ireland."

It is then a most undeniable fact, that the Prelate Miler Magrath had come to the resolution of returning to the Catholic Church, and moreover that such had been his intention for some years prior to the period when the natural infirmity of old age had placed him on the bed of sickness. It

in omnes utitur, benignitate hunc respiscentem aspiciat, illiusque errata condonet.
Deus Paternitatem tuam Custodiat.

"Bruxellis, 29 Januarii, 1612.

"Patris, tuæ Amantissimus."

"Dilecto nobis in Christo Adm. Revdo. Patri. Fratri. Mauritio Ultano, Minor. Observan. Regni Hiberniæ Provinciali."

would have been well had he followed the admonition of the Nuncio and withdrew from the country, but the good work seems to have been deferred from season to season, until at length the mercy of heaven itself interposed and reduced him to that state in which the mind of man no longer fluctuates, and in which all former intentions are sure to be realized. Miler Magrath had, previously to his death, been two years confined to the bed of sickness. It is natural to think that the determination, which in comparative health he had already formed, could no longer be deferred, and hence it is generally allowed that this is the period in which his actual reconciliation with the Catholic Church had been effected. During the first year of this confinement he also composed his own epitaph,* from which, in the absence of every other document, the fact of his conversion might be fairly inferred, Conscious of the fallen state to which he had been unhappily reduced—woefully convinced that mere human strength is but a feeble support in the hour of trial, and anxious to offer himself as an example and a caution to his fellow-countrymen, he places the following words of the inspired writer at the close of his epitaph.† “It is the Lord who judges me—*Let him who stands, take heed, lest he fall.*” This certainly is an open, an humble and a distinct avowal of the melancholy fall of this exalted ecclesiastic; and, when coupled

* Ware's Bishops.

† The following is the epitaph of Miler Magrath. It was composed by himself and has been inscribed on his monument in the Cathedral of Cashel.

“Venerat in Dunum primo sanctissimus olim,
 Patricius, nostri gloria magna Soli,
 Huic ego succedens, utinam tam sanctus ut ille,
 Sic Duni primo tempore Præsul eram.
 Anglia, lustra decem sed post tua sceptræ colebam,
 Principibus placui, Marte tonanti, tuis.
 Hic ubi sum positus, non sum, sum non ubi non sum,
 Sum, nec in ambobus, sum sed utroque loco.
 Dominus est qui me judicat. 1 Cor. iv.
 Qui stat, caveat ne cadat.”

with the other authentic testimonials which we have already produced, must necessarily leave on the mind of every unbiassed man, an unshaken conviction, that Miler Magrath had sincerely retracted the errors of his past life and had at length died a contrite and obedient child of the Catholic Church.

The character of Hugh Curwin, or more properly Culwen, to whom we have already referred, forms an odious compound of dissimulation, perfidy and base ingratitude. Curwin (as we have already seen*) had been raised to the Archiepiscopal See of Dublin by Queen Mary and during the entire of her reign professed himself a sincere supporter of Catholicity. Had Mary allowed her feelings to be embittered by the recollection of past events, Curwin could have no chance to become a partaker of her bounty. He had been one of the most violent advocates for the marriage between Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, and even delivered a public discourse to that effect before the King in the royal Chapel at Greenwich, but was soon after triumphantly refuted by the virtuous and learned Peto.† Mary, on her accession to the throne, evinced an almost unexampled display of magnanimity: she forgave Curwin and raised him to the dignity of one of her own Chaplains. Within the short space of five days after his consecration he had, by the bounty of his royal patroness, been appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland and in less than two years after was constituted Lord Justice together with Sir Henry Sidney. Dignities both civil and ecclesiastical, having been thus prematurely lavished upon a man who had but some short time before emerged from the inferior duties of a chaplaincy, served only to beset his mind with reflections altogether different from those which belonged to his sacred vocation. When Mary was no more, and Elizabeth had ascended the throne, those propensities which Curwin had

* See page 104.

† Athenæ Oxoniæ.

too fondly cherished soon began to manifest themselves in a new and more extensive sphere. His ambition and his inordinate love for pleasure became the fatal source of his ruin: he forgot his high estate and yielded in the very commencement of the storm. To aggravate his guilt and swell up the account which he had to yield at the bar of an all-seeing Judge, the unfortunate Curwin undertook to hold ordinations after his apostacy. The Bishops Loftus of Armagh, Craik of Kildare, John Devereux of Ferns and Cavenagh of Leighlin received their consecration at his hands.* Besides other favours, which had been now, in overflowing abundance, heaped upon him, he was, by commission from Elizabeth herself, constituted keeper of the great seal of Ireland and in 1563 became a second time Lord Chancellor.† Ireland however was a theatre of too limited a range for the full gratification of Curwin's towering ambition; he was anxious to figure for a season in some of the wealthy, influential Sees of England and at length had found means of having himself translated to the diocese of Oxford. His career in the new bishopric was but short: he continued in that See for about twelve months and died at a place called Suinbroch, near Burford, in November, 1568.

Elizabeth's policy and the embarrassed state of her affairs had hitherto constrained her within comparatively moderate bounds; she never appeared in her real character until about the year 1580. In presenting even an outline of the frightful persecution which now commenced, language becomes perfectly useless. It would appear (says an ancient writer) that the infernal pit itself had conspired with the dark and deadly passions of men, to root out the very name of Catholicity from the country.‡ The nation from one extremity to the other was filled with groups of hired informers, the clergy were pursued with more unsparing ferocity than the very

* Ware's Bishops.—Lib. Munerum Publ.

† Rymer, T. xv. p. 528.

‡ O'Daly, Relat. Persec. Hib.

beasts of prey, and of those who suffered (De Burgo remarks) the names and the number can be known only in the just and eternal records of the book of life.* From among these illustrious victims, a few shall be selected; to present a complete and circumstantial detail would require volumes.

DERMOT O'HURLEY, Archbishop of Cashel, renowned for his learning, his eloquence and his able refutations of the heresies of the day, was, from the moment of his arrival in Ireland, marked out as the special object of their hate and vengeance. This Prelate had completed his studies at Louvain, where he graduated and at length became Professor of Canon law in the University of that City. During the Pontificate of Gregory XIII he repaired to Rome; here his superior talents and acquirements had soon rendered him conspicuous, he was introduced to the notice of that Pope and after some time was by him consecrated and promoted to the Archiepiscopal See of Cashel. For some years previously to his return from the Continent, the intruder Miler Magrath had occupied the Metropolitan chair, the persecution had, moreover, by this time burst out in all its fury; Dermot, however, proceeded unintimidated through his diocese, he travelled from one district to another and ultimately from county to county, consoling, exhorting and confirming the people. Having been prevailed upon to remain for some days at the residence of Thomas, Lord Baron of Slane, in the County of Meath, he was there recognized by the Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, who procured without delay two confidential messengers and sent intelligence to Loftus then Protestant Archbishop of Armagh and Chancellor of Ireland.† The treacherous designs of the Chief Justice were fortunately discovered by some of the family; they apprized the venerable Prelate of the storm which was gathering and earnestly besought him to consult his safety by flying from the fury of his pursuers.

* Hib. Dom. p. 600.

† Hist. Cath. c. xix.

Dermot, yielding at length to the tears and entreaties of his friends, was conveyed privately from the mansion and proceeded as far as the town of Carrick-on-Suir in the County of Tipperary. Here he was arrested and having been placed under an armed escort was conducted before the Chancellor in Dublin. Loftus left no means untried in endeavouring to upset the constancy of the Prelate. He promised to reconcile him to Elizabeth and even allowed him to maintain all his former opinions on other doctrinal points, provided he would but acknowledge her supremacy. This proposal the Archbishop instantly rejected. A second offer was now made. He was to be restored to favour and reinstated in the See of Cashel, if he would even consent to reject the title which he had received for that See from the Pope and take out a new title of inauguration from the Queen. These terms having been in like manner rejected, the Archbishop O'Hurley was remanded to prison and ordered to be bound in heavy irons. His enemies already thirsting for his blood hastened soon after to the prison and commenced the work of torture. He was first bound to a stake, his arms and legs having been covered over with pitch, salt, oil and sulphur: fire was then slowly applied and managed with such barbarous dexterity that they effectually contrived to keep their victim in torture for several hours.* The night having thus passed over in one melancholy round of insults and sufferings, he was led out by his executioners at day break and conveyed to Stephen's Green, where he was again put on the rack and ultimately strangled, A.D. 1583. His body was removed in the evening by the faithful and deposited in the neighbouring oratory of St. Kevin, which was then almost in ruins. This church was some years after repaired, and several miracles are said to have been wrought at the tomb of this holy and illustrious sufferer for the faith of Christ.†

* O' Daly, *Relatio. Persecut. Hib.* p. 16.

† *Analecta Sacra*, in Appendix p. 7.

PATRICK O'HELY, Bishop of Mayo, together with his companion Cornelius O'Rourke had, about the same period, triumphed over the terrors of persecution. Patrick O'Hely was a native of Connaught and at an early age retired to the Convent of Complute in Spain, where he prosecuted his studies with great applause and embraced the institute of St. Francis. In obedience to the command of the Minister General of his order, (Christophorus a Capite Fontis,) he repaired to Rome in 1577 and on the following year was consecrated Bishop of the diocese of Mayo by Pope Gregory XIII. Anxious to afford the consolations of religion to his afflicted countrymen, Patrick soon after returned to Ireland, accompanied by Cornelius O'Rourke, a holy and zealous priest, the partner of his subsequent trials and sufferings.— After having encountered many difficulties, particularly on the coast of Armoric Gaul, they at length landed in safety at Dingle, a seaport in the County of Kerry.* The spies and minions, whom Drury, the Deputy, had at this time stationed in all the harbours along the southern coast of Ireland, soon recognized these venerable strangers; they were taken into custody and conducted under a strong guard to the residence of the Earl of Desmond. This nobleman, unwilling to take an open part in these tragical events and still anxious to avoid the displeasure of Elizabeth, had cautiously given directions to have them transmitted to Limerick and presented before Goulden, the constituted military commissioner in that district. The Prelate and his companion were, by the directions of this officer, loaded with irons and cast into the public prison. Here they remained until Sir William Drury had arrived at Kilmallock in the beginning of August 1578; at which time they were ordered to be conveyed from Limerick and brought into the presence of the Deputy. Threats, promises and various

* Wadding, Vita SS.

other means having been tried without effect, they were sentenced to be first put to the torture and afterwards strangled in the presence of the garrison. These orders of Drury were executed with an unusual degree of barbarity. The holy Prelate and his companion were placed on the stretching rack; their hands and feet were then broken with hammers and large needles were applied and thrust with great violence under their nails: after having been kept for a considerable time in this state of torture, they were taken from the rack and strangled from the branches of a neighbouring tree.* Their bodies were afterwards hung in chains and remained suspended for fourteen days, during which time they were used as a target by the savage soldiery in their shooting exercises.† The suffering Prelate, while placed on the rack, had warned Drury that before many days he himself must appear at the bar of an all-seeing Judge; which prophetic declaration was eventually realized: this iniquitous governor in less than eight days after died in great agony at Waterford, of a distemper which had completely baffled all medical skill. The bodies of the martyrs were soon after conveyed to Kilmallock by Gerald, Earl of Desmond, and buried with great solemnity in the Convent of the Franciscans at Clonmel.‡

RICHARD CREAGH, Archbishop of Armagh,§ distinguished alike for sanctity and for the many learned works which proceeded from his pen, may with justice be numbered among the illustrious sufferers of these awful times. This venerable Prelate had scarcely arrived in his native country when the storm began to collect around him. His unremitted zeal and the high station which he occupied in the Catholic Church inflamed still more the malice of his enemies; he was arrested in 1565 and transmitted to London, where he was put in

* Arthur a Monasterio, in suo Martyrologio.

† Auctor Theat. p. 50.

‡ Bruodin, passio Martyr, p. 437.

§ See chap. ii.

chains and imprisoned in the tower. In this place of confinement he continued for five weeks; by the mediation of some friends he was unexpectedly liberated. When at length the fury of the persecution had broke out in 1580 he was again arrested, and after undergoing a lengthened series of sufferings in Ireland he was conveyed to London and committed a second time to the tower. During his confinement in the dungeons of this fortress, promises of high preferment had been held out to him, provided he would abjure the Catholic faith. These promises, however, were just as ineffectual as the terrors of the prison: they had been repeatedly urged, but the Prelate continued inflexible. His enemies, determined even on wounding his character, had at length contrived to institute a new series of accusation against him. They procured a female, the daughter of his gaoler, whom they bribed; on her they prevailed to accuse the holy Prelate of having offered violence to her person. The appointed day of trial had arrived, and that the feelings of his friends might suffer as well as the character of their Prelate, a number of the Catholic nobility had been summoned on the occasion. His accuser made her appearance; the moment, however, she cast her eyes on this innocent and injured victim, the hand of an invisible power touched her soul with remorse; she declared that the charges alleged against him were all malicious and false and that the Archbishop was both an innocent and a holy man. His enemies thus discomfited had him now arraigned under the penal statutes of the day; in the mean time the Primate, heroically persisting in his faith, was recommitted to the tower and sentenced to imprisonment for life. The malice of his persecutors continued unabated: while chained in the tower he was forced to pass through a prolonged ordeal of privations and was at length poisoned on the 14th of October, A.D. 1585.*

* *Analect. Sacra, de rebus Cath. Hib. de Processu. Martyr, p. 46 et seq.*

REDMOND O'GALLAGHER, Bishop of Derry, was put to death during the continuance of the same persecution. While traversing along the mountainous districts of his diocese and attending the sick he was overtaken by a band of soldiers, and after being literally mangled this venerable Prelate died, in the 70th year of his age.*

EDMUND MAGAURAN succeeded the Primate Richard Creagh in the Metropolitan chair. This Prelate, while in the act of hearing the confession of a dying man, was mortally wounded near Armagh in 1598.†

CORNELIUS O'DUANE, Bishop of Down and Connor, together with Patrick O'Logher, a learned and holy priest, suffered about the same time. They were both put on the rack and died together during the administration of Arthur Chichester.

To these might be added a lengthened catalogue of Prelates, who escaped the sword but were still more grievously persecuted or driven into exile. Among these sufferers are named Edmund Tanner, Bishop of Cork and Cloyne; Thomas O'Herlihy, Bishop of Ross; Thaddeus O'Ferrall, Bishop of Clonfert and Hugh Lacy, Bishop of Limerick. These Prelates lay concealed amidst the caverns of the mountains and thus escaped the fury of their pursuers. Maurice Fitz-Gibbon, the predecessor of Dermot O'Hurley in the See of Cashel, became an exile and died in Spain about the year 1580.—Nicholas Skerret, Archbishop of Tuam, after having been flogged and incarcerated, withdrew to the kingdom of Portugal and died at Lisbon in 1583.—Peter Power, Bishop of Ferns, became a Suffragan to the Archbishop of Compostella, and died an exile in Spain in 1587.—Thomas Strong, Bishop of Ossory, became also a Suffragan to the same Archbishop and died at Compostella in 1601.—Moriarth O'Brien, Bishop of Emly, died in the prison of Dublin, in 1586.—Richard

* *Analecta in Process*, Marty. p. 40.

† *Ibid.*

Brady, of the Order of St. Francis and Bishop of Kilmore, after having been incarcerated for a length of time, maimed and tortured, died at a very advanced age near Multiferam, in the County of West Meath.* During this age of terror and death, the storm of the persecution was directed with similar fury against the second order of the clergy both secular and regular. FERGAL WARD and JOHN O'DUAD, priests of the Order of St. Francis, were tortured and put to death, under the administration of Drury, the former at Armagh and the latter at Moyne in the County of Mayo. Fergal Ward was a native of Tirconnel, and was exceedingly venerated for the simplicity of his life and the labours which he encountered in exhorting and animating the people. He travelled over the whole province of Ulster, visiting in particular those lonely districts in which the congregations had been scattered without sacrifice, sacraments or the consolations of religion. While on his journey to Armagh, he fell into the hands of the persecutors, and after having been flogged with great barbarity was at length suspended from the branches of a tree by means of the cord or cincture which they had separated from his habit. John Duad was discovered by his pursuers, while in the act of hearing the confessions of the faithful in the retired mountainous parts of the County of Mayo. He was offered his liberty with a further assurance of ample rewards if he would but disclose the confessions of the people. The refusal, which he peremptorily gave, served at once to inflame the implacable vengeance of his persecutors. They seized the chord with which his habit had been bound, and after placing it around his head, near the temples, they forced and screwed it with such violence, by means of an instrument employed for the purpose, that his eyes burst out of their sockets, and in this frightful state of torture he expired on the 9th of June, 1579.†

* O'Sullivan, Hist. Cath.—*Analecta Sacra* in Append.

† Ex Synop. Prov. Hib. p. 66.

DANIEL O'NIELAN, a laborious and zealous Priest of the diocese of Cloyne, remarkable for his hospitality and humane attention to the poor was put to death in a manner the most revolting by two satellites, named Norris and Morgan, who had the command of the Northern district of the County of Cork, under the administration of Adam Loftus. This apostolic man, filled with solicitude for the people, was in the habit of making occasional journies to the neighbouring villages for the purpose of affording consolation to the dying and afflicted. He was at length overtaken by his pursuers and conducted under a strong military guard to the town of Youghal. Norris and Morgan, already thirsting for his blood, had refused him even the opportunity of making a defence. They conducted him to the top of a high tower, then called Trinity, and having fastened a rope around his waist and arms they flung him headlong from the battlements. The rope, however, not being sufficiently strong to meet the violence of the shock, the suffering victim was instantly precipitated and left a mangled corpse on the ground. Nor was the fury of his executioners yet satiated: observing some signs of life still remaining, they caused him to be carried to a mill not far distant, and having secured him with chains to the wheel they allowed it to revolve with increased velocity, until the body disfigured and lacerated retained no longer the appearance of a human form.* This holy Priest suffered on the 28th of March, A.D. 1580.†

DANIEL O'HANRICHAN, PHILIP O'SHEA and MAURICE SCANLAN, three aged Priests, natives of the County of Kerry, suffered death for their faith during the same year. The labours of these missionaries had not been confined to the district of Kerry. During the lapse of thirty-three years they had been employed in preaching the divine word and administering the sacraments in almost every county through-

* Bruodin, *Passio Martyr*, p. 439.

† Author. *Theat.* p. 82.

out Ireland. At length, worn down with age and infirmity, they returned to their native county, and during the persecution of 1580 were prevailed upon to take shelter in the town of Lislaghton. On the 6th of April in that year, while the agents of Elizabeth had been scouring the country, these three venerable Priests, two of whom were blind with age, took shelter in the sanctuary, and while in the act of offering themselves to their Maker and of praying for their enemies were beheaded; their bodies having been afterwards awfully mangled by the soldiery.*

JOHN O'LOCHRAN, EDMUND SIMMONS and DONATUS O'ROURKE, Priests of the Order of St. Francis, were cruelly tortured and put to death in the Convent of Down by a licentious soldiery under the command of a military commissioner, named Britton. This unfeeling leader after filling the country with dismay had resolved to take up his quarters for the winter in this ancient town. On his approach the inhabitants fled and took shelter in the adjacent country, while the clergy were entreated to consult their safety and reserve themselves for better days. Anxious to enjoy those spoils which he had already anticipated, Britton lost no time in repairing to the Convent of Down. Here he met the three venerable Fathers, but the booty which he had expected was not to be obtained. They were accordingly given up to the military; and after having undergone a variety of torture, were at length brought out in the garden and strangled from the branches of a large oak which overhung the sanctuary.†

MAURICE KENREHAN, Parish Priest of Mullanahone in the County of Tipperary, had, in company with great numbers of his congregation, been compelled to take shelter in the caverns of the desolate and extensive mountain of Slieve-na-mon, while rewards to an enormous amount had been offered for his apprehension by Wallop, at that time Treasurer of Ireland.

* Passio Mart. p. 440.

† Synop. Prov. Hib. p. 64.

Spies and other hired minions had been employed; the whole country was scoured by military parties yet the object of their search had found means to escape their vigilance. At length on the eve of all Saints and while he had been engaged in administering the last sacraments to the dying, he was arrested and conducted along bye-ways towards Clonmel. The officer of the guard, named Furrows, anticipating a reaction from the people, proposed to his companions that their victim should be instantly despatched. He was accordingly tortured in a manner the most inhuman; at length his head having been severed from his body, the trunk was dismembered and cut up into fragments. These were left scattered on the high road; his head was conveyed in triumph by his executioners to Clonmel.*

THADÆUS DONALD and JOHN HANLY, †both Franciscans, and members of the Convent of Bantry, became victims to the fury of the persecutors about the same period. These Fathers had been exceedingly esteemed for their zeal in preaching to the people, and had during a great part of these stormy times accompanied the faithful along the wild and almost inaccessible shores of the Southern coast of Ireland. Having had occasion to revisit the Convent and on their return to Bantry, they fell into the hands of their enemies. The constancy of these holy men was now assailed with threats and promises, but without effect. They were accordingly conducted to a steep rock which hung with frightful altitude over the ocean; and having been tied back to back with their own cords, they were dashed with violent precipitation into the abyss beneath. These venerable Fathers suffered on the 10th of August, 1580.†

PATRICK O'LOGHER, a learned Priest of the diocese of Down, after having suffered incarceration in company with his Bishop, Cornelius O'Duane, was put to death about the

* MS. Louvan.—O'Daly, p. 162.

† Bruod in passio Mar. p. 452.

close of this century. They had been both arrested on the same day; were bound in chains and conveyed to Dublin, where they were cast into prison. Here they would at the time have ended their days had not an accidental circumstance served for the moment to assuage the malice of their persecutors. Two leaders of the English party, Smith and Bagnell, had fallen into the hands of the Catholics and were detained in secure custody, as hostages for the Bishop and Patrick O'Logher. An exchange was agreed upon and both Cornelius and Patrick were set at liberty. They were, however, immediately after seized by the same party, and having been remanded to Dublin were both put on the rack and afterwards hanged, drawn and quartered in the common prison.*

JOHN O'MOLLOY, CORNELIUS DOGHERTY and CALFRID FERRAL, three Franciscans, had distinguished themselves about the year 1588 and at length became the devoted victims of the malice of their enemies. These apostolical men had spent upwards of eight years in traversing the mountainous parts of the province of Leinster; abiding particularly in those unfrequented districts of the Counties of Wicklow, Carlow and Wexford to which the people had been driven in great multitudes for shelter. They proceeded from mountain to mountain, offering the divine mysteries, encouraging the dying and administering the sacraments. Their journeys had been generally performed by night, and as the acts of their Order state their bed was the rock of the mountain, while their usual earthly comfort consisted of nakedness, cold and hunger. In defiance of the dangers by which they were encompassed, these great men clung with the affection of fathers to their afflicted countrymen: they shared in their sufferings, partook of their sorrows, and never separated from them until they had at length fallen a sacrifice to their enemies. While pursuing their journey through a remote

* MS. Louvan.—O'Daly, p. 162.

district of the Queen's County, they were overtaken by a party of cavalry, bound hand and foot and carried amidst the insults of a brutal soldiery to the garrison of Abbeyleix. Here they were flogged and put on the stretching rack: having endured this torture for a length of time they were ultimately strangled, bowelled and quartered, and thus with the spirit of Christian martyrs did they generously lay down their lives in support of the religion of their country and their fathers.*

The persecution of Elizabeth although unparalleled in the annals of tyranny was still incomplete. It has been remarked of old, that the blood of the martyrs was the fruitful seed of Christianity; the same observation could with equal propriety be at this time applied to the priesthood of Ireland. The sword was drawn and the blood of the clergy flowed in abundance, but the same sword had scarcely been suffered to rest in the hand of the executioner, when a new generation as

* Synop. Prov. Hib. p. 86.—*Bruodin. Passio Martyrum.*

Besides these venerable sufferers, we find in the aforesaid acts a long catalogue of priests of the Franciscan Order, who became victims to the persecuting fury of the sixteenth century. Among these the most remarkable were—Roger Mac Comguil, of the Convent of Armagh, flogged to death in 1565—Daniel Doolan, of the Convent of Youghal, beheaded in 1569—Thadæus Daly, of the Convent of Askeaton, hanged, bowelled and quartered in Limerick, A.D. 1579—John Connoly, of the Convent of Askeaton, beheaded in 1582—William Ferrall, of the Convent of Askeaton, hanged and quartered in 1582—Thadæus O'Moran, of the Convent of Enniscorthy, flogged and strangled in 1582—Felix O'Hara and Henry de Lahoyde, of the Convent of Sligo, both hanged and cut in quarters in 1582—Roger Donnellan, Charles Goran, Teter Chillan, Patrick O'Kenna, Roger O'Henlan and John Pillan, from various Convents in the province of Leinster, incarcerated in the prison of Dublin, where they died, A.D. 1582—Dermittius O'Mulroney, of the Convent of Galbally, County of Limerick, beheaded in 1588—Thadæus O'Boyle, of the County of Donegall, mangled and beheaded in 1588—Patrick Brady, of the Convent of Monaghan, tortured and beheaded in 1588—Donatus O'Muirhily, of the Convent of Irrelagh, (Mucross) stoned to death in 1589—Matthew O'Leyn, of the Convent of Kilkenny, tortured and beheaded in 1590—Terence Magennis, Magnus O'Fedling and Oge Mac-Laughlin, of the Convent of Multifarnam, confined in the prison of Ballybay, and afterwards in that of Dublin where they died, A.D. 1591.—Synop. Prov. Hib. p. 33 et seq.—Wadding de Scrip. p. 102 et seq.

brave and as determined as the former rose up in the sanctuary. To prevent even the possibility of this ministerial succession, to root the Catholic priesthood altogether out of the country and in short to brutalize the people, the ordinary, national sources of knowledge were at length closed by law, and Catholic education both private and public was proscribed throughout the kingdom. This was the crisis which awakened and drew forth the sympathies of Europe; it created an universal spirit of indignation against the blood-thirsty misrule of England; it branded the very name of Protestantism even at its birth with disgrace and infamy. In Spain, in France, the Netherlands and other nations of the Continent, the name of ancient, generous Ireland was still fondly cherished, the reminiscences of the days of old were traditionally handed down and preserved with hallowed gratitude; its colleges, its teachers, its learning, its hospitality became once more the subject of general panegyricism and many a heart deeply affected at the sufferings of its priesthood was now ready to receive them with welcome and afford them shelter from the vengeance of their persecutors. Colleges for the reception of Irish students were in a short time established in various parts of the Continent: protected and munificently endowed by Philip II, King of Spain and other benefactors, they soon multiplied, and while the Irish Church was enabled to calculate on a regular supply of invaluable missionaries, the malice of their enemies was confounded, and their very name became a bye-word of contempt and scorn throughout Europe. The Irish Seminary at Lisbon was founded and endowed by Cardinal Zimenes in 1595. The Cardinal had ever after taken a lively interest in the welfare of this establishment, and by his own directions was honourably interred in its Church. Another Irish establishment was founded about the same time at Evora by Cardinal Henriques. The Irish College of Douay in Flanders dates its foundation from the year 1596. Christopher Cusack,

a learned Priest of the diocese of Meath, had by his influence contributed exceedingly in advancing this literary establishment. By his exertions, likewise, the Colleges at Lisle, Antwerp, Tournay and St. Omer had been founded.* Seminaries were established in Bourdeaux, Toulouse and Nantz for Irish students under the patronage of Anne, Queen of Austria; the Irish College on the hill of St. Genevieve in Paris was a gift from the French government and to which the Baron de St. Just had been a great benefactor.† In 1582, the College of Salamanca was founded for Irish students by the States of Castile and Leon, Philip III being its principal patron; and about the same time two extensive Seminaries, one of them a royal establishment had been erected at Seville for the education of Irish missionaries. Among the principal benefactors of these establishments, Sarapater, a learned Canon of the Cathedral of Seville, has been particularly noticed. During the last year of this century the Baron, George Sylveria, founded the Irish College at Alcala de Henares: this establishment he afterwards richly endowed, and it became in the seventeenth century a source of incalculable benefit to the Irish mission.‡

These and other similar establishments, rising in rapid succession throughout the Continent, had in the space of a few years absolutely defeated every object which the exterminating statutes of Elizabeth had presumed to contemplate. The consequences of this disappointment may be readily conceived: the spirit of the persecution had hitherto been grievously violent, it now became desperate and infuriated. Proclamations were issued and published without number, and all persons who had children, relatives or wards in foreign countries were commanded to deposit the names of the absent individuals with the local magistrate within ten days, to have them recalled within four months and on their return

* Harris, vol. ii. p. 252.

† Messingham, *Florilegium*, N. 35.

‡ *Ibid.*

to have them presented before the authorized authorities. After that period they were prohibited to send money to any students, to receive them into their houses or to afford them hospitality or shelter. Those transgressing were to be considered traitors and punishments were awarded them by law. These edicts were accompanied by a regular catechetical manual or book of instructions, composed for the purpose and ingeniously adapted to the taste and practical habits of the judicial commissioners dispersed over the country. The instructions themselves formed a sort of text book and were comprized in eight general chapters. The first chapter exhibited a brief outline of the manner in which the commissioners should open their respective courts of investigation against the Catholics. The second regarded the qualifications, appointment and proper training of informers and other agents necessary for the befitting execution of the laws. In the third, fourth and fifth chapters, the chief questions to be proposed and the form of the interrogatories had been distinctly arranged. The sixth chapter referred to those who stood accused of having given reception or encouragement to priests; and in the seventh and eighth the several degrees of punishment specified by law were recapitulated.* The edict which came out in 1584 served to complete the persecution; it shall be presented to the reader without any commentary, and is to the following effect. "And if from henceforth any Priest shall be detected within these realms, he shall, ipso facto, be guilty of high treason—wherefore let him first be hanged, then cut down alive and afterwards beheaded, bowelled and burned. His head to be set on a spike and exposed in the most public place. But should any person receive or entertain a priest, he shall suffer the confiscation of his property and be hanged without the hope of mercy."†

In this manner did the tempest unabated roll over the

* O'Daly—*Relat. Persecut. Hib.* p. 201 et seq.

† *Ibid.* p. 229.

Church of Ireland; the scene of terror became general; the country with all its loveliness and religion with all its blessings appeared alike involved in the same universal wreck. Between plunder and profanation, racks and gibbets, pestilence and famine,* the blood of the people and of the Lord's anointed, what a revolting spectacle must not this unhappy land at the close of the sixteenth century present to the nations of the civilized world?—and all this done under the pretext of religion, and in the name of that blessed and eternal Gospel of charity and peace which the Redeemer of the world came down to establish among men. This chapter shall close with a few concise extracts illustrative of the subject, and for obvious reasons selected from the works of Protestant writers themselves.

“The miseries which the wretched Irish endured, (says Leland,) were affecting even to their very enemies: thousands perished by famine, and the hideous resources sought for allaying the rage of hunger were more terrible than even such a calamity.”† “The famine of Jerusalem, (observes Cox,) did not exceed that among the Irish.”‡ “Whosoever (writes Hollinshed,) should travel from one end to the other of all Munster, even from Waterford to the head of Smerwicke, which is about six-score miles, he would not meet anie man, woman or child, saving in townes and cities, nor yet see anie beast—but the very wolves, the foxes and other like ravening beasts; many of these laie dead, being famished, and the residue gone elsewhere.”§ “Notwithstanding (says Spencer,||)

* “In the space of a few months upwards of 3000 died of starvation in Tyrone.” Morisson, ap Curry, p. 50.

† Vol. ii. p. 487.

‡ P. 447.

§ Vol. vi. p. 449.

|| This same Spencer, immediately after the famine and plague of 1653, recommended Elizabeth to execute the abominable plan of destroying the fruits of the earth throughout the country; in order, as he observed, that the Irish might be driven to the necessity of devouring one another. “The end will, I assure you, be very short, (says Spencer) for although there should none of them fall by the sword nor be slain by the soldier, yet their being kept from manurance and their cattle from running abroad, by this hard restraint *they would quickly consume themselves and devour one another.* The proof whereof I saw sufficiently in the late warres of Munster.”

that the same (Ireland) was a most rich and plentiful country, full of corn and cattle, that you would have thought they should have been able to stand long; yet in one year and a half they were brought to such wretchedness as that any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came, creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them—they looked like anatomies of death—they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves. *They did eat the dead carrions*, happy where they could find them, yea, *and one another soon after, inso-much as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves*—and if they found a plot of water-cresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time; yet not being able long to continue therewithal, that in a short space there were none almost remaining and *a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of both man and beast.*”*

* Vol. i. p. 165.

CHAPTER II.

Successors of St. Patrick—Episcopal Sees—Religious Foundations of the Sixteenth Century.

The Metropolitan See of Armagh had, since its foundation, been governed by seventy-two prelates in regular succession. The same unbroken series was continued through succeeding centuries, notwithstanding the countless efforts which had been made to crush even the name of catholicity throughout the country. On the death of Octavian in 1513,

JOHN KITE, a native of the City of London, was by provision of Leo X advanced to the primatial chair and was restored to the temporalities on the 20th of May 1514.—This Prelate, after having presided over the See about eight years, resigned and was afterwards appointed Bishop of Carlisle in England.* He died in the village of Stepney near London, on the 19th of June, 1537, and was buried in the chancel of the parish church.

GEORGE CROMER, an Englishman, distinguished for his learning, prudence and gravity, was appointed Archbishop of Armagh on the resignation of the former Primate and was consecrated in April 1522. The unbending firmness of this Prelate had gained him many admirers, among whom the high minded but unfortunate Gerald, Earl of Kildare, was not the least conspicuous. Scarcely had the troubles arising out of the imprudence of this family subsided, when the Primate found himself involved in new difficulties. The novel pretensions of Henry VIII to ecclesiastical supremacy and the violent efforts which had been made to create a

* Ware's Bishops.

schism in the country occasioned scenes such as the Church of Ireland had never before witnessed, and in which this Prelate maintained a conspicuous part.* He continued the untimidated and able defender of the Catholic faith until his death, in March 1543, and was succeeded in the See of Armagh by

GEORGE DOWDALL. This Prelate, distinguished as the leading advocate of Catholicity during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary, was a native of the County of Louth and had been for many years Prior of the Trinitarian Monastery at Ardee in the same county.† When the commissioners of Henry VIII had been busily employed in suppressing the religious houses throughout the kingdom, this meek and amiable man, submitting to the necessity of the times, patiently retired from the Monastery and was constituted by the Primate his official or Vicar General in the Archdiocese of Armagh.‡ His inoffensive demeanour and untainted loyalty combined with the influence which he possessed over O'Neal and other Irish chieftains of Ulster had rendered him a general favourite with the nobility of the pale; the Deputy St. Leger professed the highest esteem for his virtues and became his avowed friend and patron. On the decease of the Primate in 1543, George Dowdall, together with Edmund, Dean of Armagh, was appointed Guardian of the Metropolitan Church during the vacancy, and on the following October he presided at a convocation of the clergy in St. Peter's Church, Drogheda.§ In the mean time his patron, St. Leger, had been actively engaged in preparing the way for his promotion to the archiepiscopal chair. He made an early and personal application to the King himself in his behalf, and pourtrayed the character of the new candidate in such favourable terms that Henry readily assented to his appointment and gave directions that a mandate to that effect

* See Chap. I. † Archdall. Mon. ‡ Ware's Bishops. § Dowdall's Regist. fol. 10.

should be forthwith issued.* George Dowdall was accordingly consecrated by Edward Staples, Bishop of Meath, about the beginning of December, 1543. This appointment of the new Primate proceeded simply from the mandate of the King himself; nor had it at the time received the confirmation of the holy See. As soon as an official account of these proceedings had reached Rome Paul III, then sovereign Pontiff, made provision for the See: he appointed Robert Waucop, a learned Irishman, whose history we have already introduced in the former chapter and had him consecrated Bishop of Armagh.† However unfavourable this train of circumstances may appear, we must not from thence draw the conclusion that George Dowdall had been among the number of those who subscribed to or acknowledged the spiritual supremacy of Henry VIII. Between the act of his surrendering the Monastery of Ardee and the death of Archbishop Cromer a period of two years had elapsed, during which time he exercised the powers of Vicar General under that Metropolitan. Considering, therefore, that the Primate, George Cromer, had through life manifested a decided opposition to the schism, it must without doubt be admitted that his Vicar General deputed by him had adopted a corresponding line of conduct. Nor can his promotion to the See even by Henry VIII be fairly construed into an argument against his orthodoxy. He was, as has been already remarked, introduced to the notice of that Monarch by his friend and patron, Sir Anthony St. Leger. On this occasion his conciliating and peaceable habits as well as his fidelity to the laws had been enthusiastically extolled; the advantages which might naturally be expected to arise from his popularity were also carefully enumerated, and hence it is generally presumed that the advancement of George Dowdall to the

* Patent 35, Henry VIII.

† Palavicini Hist. Con. Trid. L. 6. Mac-Mahon, Jus. Primat. p. 719.

See of Armagh had received the assent of Henry without being accompanied by any obligation of acknowledging such an unpalatable doctrine as that of the supremacy of the King of England. The exact circumstances of the case had not, it is probable, been communicated to Rome at the time of the appointment and consecration of Robert Waucop; it is certain however that this Prelate had never returned to the See of Armagh. The subsequent interesting events connected with the primacy of George Dowdall have been already noticed; during the reign of Edward VI, he became the avowed and powerful champion of Catholicity and was compelled to withdraw from his native country: he retired to the Continent and lived for some years an exile with the Abbot of Centre in Brabant. As soon as Mary had ascended the throne, the Primate, George Dowdall was recalled; at this period, likewise, the primatial title, which under Edward VI had been conferred on the See of Dublin, was restored to Armagh, and on the same day a grant *in Commendam* was made to him of the precincts of the late dissolved hospital of St. John at Ardee.* He lived to see that ancient faith, which he himself had so zealously supported, ultimately re-established throughout the kingdom; on this occasion he announced a jubilee, which in 1555 had been celebrated all over Ireland with unusual solemnity. About the close of Mary's reign this laborious Prelate proceeded on some ecclesiastical business to England and died soon after at London, where he was interred on the 15th of August, A.D. 1558.†

RICHARD CREAGH, the immediate successor of George Dowdall in the Primacy, was the son of an opulent merchant in the City of Limerick. His parents, having designed him for the mercantile profession, had taken care to bestow on him a suitable education, and among other acquirements he attained even at an early age a competent knowledge of the

* Lib. Munerum Pub. v. ii.

† Ware's Bishops.

French, Spanish and other languages of the South of Europe, After some time Richard embarked in his Father's business and made several voyages to and from Spain with considerable success. Having on one of these occasions disposed of the merchandize which he had brought from Ireland and conveyed a store of other commodities on board, he withdrew to a neighbouring church with an intention of assisting at the divine mysteries on the morning appointed for sailing and just as the crew had completed their preparations for the voyage. While he had been thus employed, his companions, conceiving that he was on board, weighed anchor and set sail. When Richard returned to the shore, the vessel, although at a considerable distance, was distinctly within view; he made signs to them frequently, but as may be presumed, without effect: at length resigning every hope of their return and reconciling himself to the will of Providence, he sat down pensive on the shore. The pursuits of a worldly life had never been congenial to the natural impulse of his mind; he had at first ventured to launch into these busy avocations out of mere compliance to the command of his parent and he had never relinquished the idea of separating himself from them as soon as some favourable circumstance might conveniently permit. While deeply engaged in these thoughts, his attention was suddenly attracted by the unusual heaving of the vessel, which from some mismanagement of the crew was almost instantly buried in the sea and every one on board perished.* This event was interpreted by Richard as an explicit manifestation of Providence; he accordingly formed an immediate resolution of consecrating himself to the service of religion, and soon after retired to Louvain for the purpose of pursuing his ecclesiastical studies. Here he made considerable progress and at length became eminently distinguished as a theologian and canonist: he afterwards removed

* O'Sullivan, Tom. ii. l. iv.

to Rome, where, in consequence of his merits, he was nominated by the Pope and consecrated Archbishop of Armagh. Of his sufferings during the intolerant sway of Elizabeth, particular notice has been already taken:* he was twice imprisoned in the tower of London, when at length he suffered in defence of his faith, having been poisoned on the 14th of October, A.D. 1585. This Prelate has written a Treatise on the Irish language—an Ecclesiastical History—A Chronicle of Ireland—Controversies of Faith—A Catechism in Irish, and the Lives of the Irish Saints.†

EDWARD MACGAURAN, a native of Ulster, was promoted to the Metropolitan See of Armagh and consecrated at Rome soon after the decease of the Primate Richard Creagh. From the peculiar state of the times this Prelate could find no opportunity of returning immediately to his native country, nor did he arrive in Ireland until about the beginning of the year 1594. The fury of the persecution had, at this time, been carried to such frightful excess that it was absolutely impossible for any Catholic bishop placed in the See of Armagh to enter on the public discharge of his episcopal functions. Thus circumstanced, the venerable Prelate was driven to the necessity of seeking shelter in the unfrequented retreats of the poor, and of occasionally concealing himself in the mansions of the leading Catholic gentry of Ulster. Ample rewards had been offered for his apprehension by the Lord Deputy, Russell, but without success; Maguire, Lord of Fermanagh, and other Irish chieftains invited him to remain with themselves and by this means succeeded for a considerable time in protecting him from the hands of his pursuers. At length having been recognized by one of the itinerant satellites, and while engaged in receiving the confession of a dying man, he was mortally wounded and died near Armagh, A.D. 1598.‡

* See c. i.

† Staniburst, Descr. Hib. c. vii.—Ware.

‡ Analect. Sacra in Processu Martyr, p. 44.

The melancholy state, to which the ancient hierarchy of Ireland had been reduced during the greater portion of the sixteenth century, may be readily conceived from the brief but correct outline which we have already drawn of these awful times. WILLIAM ROKEBY, HUGH INGE and JOHN ALLEN were the only Prelates by whom the Archiepiscopal See of Dublin had been governed, if we may except the two first years of Curwin's administration: during almost the entire reign of Elizabeth this See had been vacant, until at length Matthew de Oviedo, a Spanish Franciscan, had been consecrated Archbishop of Dublin in 1559.* William Rokeby was translated from the See of Meath in 1512 and on his decease in 1521, Hugh Inge was in like manner translated from the diocese of Meath to that of Dublin.† The incumbency of this latter Prelate continued until 1528, when John Allen, Treasurer of St. Paul's in London, had through the influence of Cardinal Wolsey been appointed to succeed him. The patronage by which Archbishop Allen had obtained the See became the fatal cause of his ruin. During the administration of the Earl of Kildare, as Lord Deputy of Ireland, some false charges of misgovernment had been alleged against him; he was cited to London and on his arrival was committed to the tower. Before his departure from Ireland, Kildare, contrary to the advice of his friends, had taken an unaccountably imprudent step; he committed the sword of office to his son Thomas, a rash, impetuous young man, and placed him over the administration of the country. The Earl had scarcely reached London when a report of his having been put to death in the tower was industriously circulated and at length prevailed so powerfully over the feelings of the Lord Thomas, that he threw down the sword of state in the presence of the council assembled at St. Mary's Abbey and flew into open rebellion.‡ Having laid waste a considerable

* See Cent. xvii. c. i.

† Ware's Bishops.

‡ Stanhurst.—Cox, p. 228.

portion of the pale and besieged the Castle of Dublin, he now resolves to take summary vengeance on all his enemies, among whom the Butlers, Cardinal Wolsey and John Allen were supposed to be the most inveterate. Archbishop Allen alarmed at the danger to which he was exposed, had embarked for England; the vessel, however, having been stranded near Clontarf he was obliged to conceal himself in the hamlet of an adjacent village. Thither the Lord Thomas repaired accompanied by his two uncles Owen and John and a numerous train of adherents: they arrived before the village at day-break, where forcing the venerable Prelate from his bed they conducted him into the presence of their leader and inhumanly murdered him by dashing out his brains. The aged Earl, on receiving the melancholy tidings of his son's rebellion, became inconsolable and died broken-hearted: the Lord Thomas and his five uncles, having been afterwards tried and condemned for high treason, were executed at Tyburn, on the 3rd of February, 1536.*

The history of the other sees, particularly in the days of Elizabeth, presents little more than an awful record of all those woes and sufferings which the martyred Fathers of antiquity had been permitted to undergo during the unrelenting persecutions of primitive times. To have access to the Head of the Church at this frightful crisis was a task of no small difficulty; nevertheless the Prelates of Ireland, in 1597, received an Indult from Clement VIII, which may serve to illustrate the penitential spirit of our forefathers up to this period. In this document was embodied a dispensation from the abstinence of flesh meat on all Wednesdays, and from the abstinence of white meats on Fridays and Saturdays; a religious discipline, which had been hitherto conscientiously observed throughout the country.†

The order, which has been hitherto observed throughout

* Ware's Annals.—Hollinshed, p. 92. † See Constitutiones Provin. Metrop. p. 66.

this work, leads us at length to the historical recollections of the monastic foundations of ancient days. The reader must have been already aware that these establishments had taken their rise from the piety of Catholic times—the olden happy days of our forefathers. They had been instituted by the wealthy and the powerful as a becoming but humble tribute to the great Author of all gifts, they were the consecrated sanctuaries of religion—the privileged asylums of the destitute and afflicted. Some of these religious foundations had been intended principally for the spiritual benefit of those who had a vocation to embrace the rigours of their institute; others had been established and richly endowed with a view of affording the means of attaining religious perfection in the sanctuary, and at the same time of imparting relief to the sick and the poor of the surrounding country. Hence it is that an immense number of the opulent and extensive abbeys of Ireland were either hospitals for the sick or asylums for the poor—and hence also property to an amazing amount had, centuries after centuries, been legally bequeathed and given in trust to these establishments, for the exclusive benefit of the sick or for the relief of the unemployed and distressed poor of Ireland. A general outline of these religious and national foundations has been already presented: we now come to the period of their suppression; while in order to reduce the subject within as narrow a compass as possible and at the same time place before the eyes of the reader a more distinct view of the whole melancholy train of calamities inflicted on the nation by this plundering event, we shall notice only some of the most remarkable of those establishments which either by charter, by religious bequests, or by immemorial usage had been constituted alms-houses and public hospitals. It must, moreover, be remarked, that the total amount of property attached to each respective foundation cannot, at this distant period, be exactly ascertained; nevertheless from the numerous, munificent bequests which we

have on record, and from the authenticated roll of the possessions as they stood when the reign of confiscation commenced under Henry VIII, we are enabled to form a tolerably competent idea of the unfeeling outrage—the crying injustice which, by the alienation of this national property, had been so wantonly committed on the wretched outcast poor of this long distracted, ill treated and most unhappy country.

THE PRIORY OF KILMAINHAM, near Dublin, founded for Knights Templars by Strongbow, about the year 1174, merits a distinguished place among the charitable institutions of those times. This Priory was both an alms-house and a public hospital. In process of time its possessions extended through almost every county in Ireland, and were situated particularly in those of Dublin, Meath, Louth, Carlow, Kilkenny, Waterford, Cork and Galway. At the time of its suppression, in the 32nd of Henry VIII, it had three gardens and an orchard within the walls; three other gardens and 370 acres of meadow on the north side of the Liffey; 80 acres on the south side of Golden-bridge; 191 acres in the Newtown of Kilmainham; the lands of Chapel-Izod, Kilmehanack, Clontarf, Baldoyle and Donnybrook, together with the townlands of Ballynetra, Ballymony, Castle Tymon, Inisbohin, Cullinmore, Cullinroe and fifteen others, in the County of Dublin.* The number of tenements which it possessed in Dublin and other places was amazing; and among the Churches of which it had the advowson, tithes and alterages, may be noticed those of Kilmainham, Clontarf, Chapel-Izod, Palmerstown, Ballyfermot, Corgagh and Kilpool in the deanery of Wicklow; Crevagh in the deanery of Tacheny; Rathnavis and St. Columba in Kells; the Churches of Ardmayle and Ballycychane in the County of Tipperary; and of Ballygavern and Galmoy in the diocese of Ossory. This asylum continued to flourish until the 32nd of Henry VIII,

* King, p. 236.

when its doors were closed and the property of the poor torn from them for ever. Portions of its possessions were granted by Elizabeth to Anthony Deringe, William Browne and to the burgesses of the town of Athenry in the County of Galway.*

THE ABBEY OF LOUTH, founded in the fifth century, was rebuilt in 1148 for Canons Regular of St. Augustin by Donchad O'Carroll, Prince of Oriel, and Edan O'Kelly, Bishop of Clogher. This Abbey was a public alms-house, celebrated in ancient days for its hospitality to strangers, and in after times for its unceasing charity to the poor. It flourished until the 33rd of Henry VIII; when an inquisition was held, and the following property, which had for so many years afforded relief to the indigent, was unreservedly confiscated: a hall, dormitory, &c., three parks, three gardens, 200 acres of arable land and 40 of pasture in Louth; 16 messuages and 280 acres in Corder; 16 messuages and 230 acres in Coleridan; 340 acres and 10 messuages in Canon's Rock and Iniskene; 500 acres and 39 messuages in Kilcronie; 6 messuages and 30 acres in Donelston; 6 messuages and 150 acres in Termonfeghan, together with the tithes of 48 townlands. This charitable foundation was suppressed and granted, with nineteen townlands, to Sir Oliver Plunket, at the annual rent of 9s. 10d. Irish.†

THE PRIORY AND HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, without the West-gate in Thomas-street, Dublin, was founded for the relief of the sick by Ailred le Palmer in 1188. The Trinitarians, or Order for the redemption of captives, had been placed over this establishment, while by its charter it was obliged to contain fifty beds for the sick poor.‡ In 1361, there were one hundred and fifteen patients supported in this Hospital; in consideration whereof, Edward III granted it the deodand for twenty years. Its possessions were situated

* Auditor Gen.

† Id.

‡ King, p. 57 et passim.

principally in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Tipperary and Limerick. Among the Churches of which it had the advowson were those of Grilly in the County of Meath; Clonyms, Fethard and Crompstown in the County of Tipperary; Kiltarnan, Boulek, Corkmoyle and Straffan in the diocese of Dublin. Its immense possessions, branching into several counties, together with the Hospital itself were granted in the 33rd of Henry VIII to James Sedgrave of Dublin, for a stipulated fine and an annual rent of 2s. 6d.

THE ABBEY OF KELLS, in the County of Meath, derived its origin from St. Columba and had in every age been celebrated for its attention to the wants of the poor. The grants bequeathed to it by Hugh de Lacy in 1173 consisted of 36 townlands. Richard Plunket was the last Abbot, and in the 33rd of Henry VIII it possessed 90 acres in the townland of Kells; 86 acres in Grangestown; 82 acres in Corbally; 16 messuages and 300 acres in Malerdone; 220 acres in Kilbride; 350 acres in Kiltome, together with 19 rectories. These several possessions were granted to Sir Gerald Plunket.*

THE PRIORY AND HOSPITAL OF NENAGH, in the County of Tipperary was founded about the year 1200 by Theobald Walter (Butler) for Canons Regular of St. Augustin. The founder bequeathed to this Hospital 12 carucates and 140 acres of land in Cloncurry and Balnath, on condition that it should provide at least thirteen beds for the sick.† In the 5th of Elizabeth, this Priory and its appurtenances, namely, one water-mill, 300 acres of arable and pasture land near Nenagh, 140 acres in Ballygrange, 160 acres in Cloghprior, 300 acres in Ballyalle together with the advowson of 18 rectories, were granted for ever to Oliver Grace, at the yearly rent of £39 10d.‡ This Hospital was closed against the sick in the reign of Edward VI, and its property was totally confiscated in the 5th year of Elizabeth.

* Harris's Tab.

† Mononast. Angl. v. ii.

‡ Aud. Gen.

THE ABBEY OF ST. JOHN, in the City of Kilkenny, was founded in 1211 by William Mareshall, Earl of Pembroke, for Canons Regular of St. Augustin, and by a clause in the original grant it was set apart as an asylum for the indigent poor of that city. Agreeably to the will of the founder relief had been here administered to the indigent until the 31st of Henry VIII, when Richard Cantwell having been the last Prior, the property bequeathed to the poor became merged in the general spoliation. In the roll of its possessions were included 96 acres on the north side of the bridge and upwards of 900 acres in Grange, Brownstown and other parts of the county, together with the rectories of St. John, Clara, Jerpoint, Tubbert, Newtown, Muccalee, Castlecomer, Jenkins-town and St. Mary, New Ross;* the Abbey and 100 acres; 40 gardens, a mill in Maudlin-street, with 200 acres in Drakeland were granted to the Mayor and Citizens of Kilkenny, to hold the same for ever in mortmain.† The ruins of St. John's Abbey, forming an immense chain of splendid marble windows, presented a truly magnificent appearance. These venerable ruins, so ornamental to the City of Kilkenny, were however demolished for the purpose of erecting on the site thereof a mean, paltry, insignificant parish church.

THE PRIORY OF ENNISCORTHY, in the County of Wexford, was founded about the year 1211 for Canons Regular of St. Augustin, by Gerald Prendergast, with a clause that relief should therein be dispensed to the poor. The founder accordingly endowed it with two carucates of land at Oernath, the lands and tithes of St. Brigid near Ardes, together with the Churches of St. Senan, St. Brigid and St. John. In process of time it became amazingly enriched and continued (agreeably to the terms of the grant) a public asylum for the poor, until the work of spoliation commenced in the sixteenth century. This Priory and its possessions were conceded in 1581 to Edward Spencer.‡

* King, p. 212.

† Aud. Gen.

‡ Id.

THE ABBEY OF ST. WOLSTAN, in the County of Kildare, was erected A.D. 1202 by Adam de Hereford, for Canons of the Order of St. Victor. This Abbey was a public almshouse until the year 1540, when the plunder commenced, and its possessions, a great portion of which had been bequeathed to the poor, were unreservedly seized upon by the commissioners of Henry VIII. It had at the time 4 gardens, 4 parks, 8 orchards, 120 acres at the west side of the Priory, 2 water-mills and the whole course of the Liffey; 4 messuages and 110 acres near Stacumney; 5 messuages and 260 acres at Parsonstown; 130 acres in Priorstown; 325 acres in Corbally and Straffan; 80 acres in Cordreny, in the County of Dublin; together with the rectories of Stacumney, Killadownan and Donaghmore in the County of Kildare. This charitable foundation and all its possessions were granted in 1540, to Allen of Norfolk, Master of the Rolls, at the annual rent of two knights fees.*

THE PRIORY AND HOSPITAL OF ARDEE, in the County of Louth, was founded by Roger de Pippard for Trinitarians, A.D. 1207. For the more ample support of this Hospital, the founder assigned to it three carucates of land in Atherdee and the patronage of the Churches of Stackillin and Dovenathmain. Its possessions became in a short time very considerable, while the sick were received without distinction within its wards. George Dowdall was the last Prior when this Hospital surrendered in the 31st of Henry VIII, and the property which by right belonged to the destitute poor of Ireland was confiscated: namely, 11 messuages, 56 acres and 2 water-mills in Ardee; 180 acres of pasture in Shanlys; 140 acres in Purchestown; 220 acres in Blakeston; 230 acres in Ashfield, together with 15 rectories. A second inquisition was held under James I, when various other property was discovered and granted together with the Hospital to Sir Garret Moore.†

* Chief Remembrancer.

† King, p. 68.

THE PRIORY AND HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN in Drogheda, on the Meath side of the river, was erected by Walter de Lacy for Trinitarians in the reign of King John. The sick and infirm were received in this hospital until the 31st of Henry VIII. John Dave was the last Prior; when the following parcel of its possessions were confiscated. A garden, an orchard and 13 acres on the banks of the Boyne; one stang and 233 acres in Southfelde; 86 acres near Gennettshill and various tenements in West-street, Friar-street, Fish-shambles and John-street. In the reign of Edward VI, the Hospital together with its possessions was sold to James Sedgrave at the annual rent of 10s. 10d.*

THE COMMANDERY AND HOSPITAL OF KILLURE, in the County of Waterford, was founded for Knights Templars at the close of the twelfth century. This establishment was an alms-house and an hospital. In the 32nd of Elizabeth the following parcel of its possessions were alienated. The townlands of Quillen, Kilbride, Monawee, Kill, St. Laurence, with 160 acres of arble land. It was granted by Elizabeth to Nicholas Aylmer at the annual rent of £13 6s. 8d.†

THE PRIORY AND HOSPITAL OF DUNDALK was founded by Bertram de Verdon for Trinitarians, about the close of the reign of Henry II. The sick, the aged and infirm were admitted into this Hospital. At length in the 31st of Henry VIII, this house of charity was suppressed and granted with the following parcel of its possessions, to Henry Draycot; 120 acres, part of the demesne land of the Priory; 12 messuages, 3 parks and 184 acres of arable land near Dundalk; 36 acres in le Lurgen, together with the rectories of Dundalk, Dromiskin, and 15 others all situated in the County of Louth,‡

THE COMMANDERY AND HOSPITAL OF KILCLOGAN, in the County of Wexford, was founded by O'More of Leix at the close of the twelfth century for Knights Templars. In 1326

*Chief Remembrancer.

† Aud. Gen.

‡ Id.

this establishment was consigned to the Hospitallers. It continued a public asylum and administered to the wants of the sick until the 32nd of Henry VIII, when it was suppressed. The following parcel of its possessions has been registered in the inquisition of that year. The Commandery with 125 acres, forming the demesne lands of the Hospital; 60 acres in Ballygellah; 120 acres in Rochestown, besides reprises; 250 acres in Scorlock and Hore's lands; 24 burgages in the Fayth of Wexford; 23 burgages in John's-street, Wexford; and the advowson of the Parishes of Hook, Templetown, Kilbride, Whitechurch, St. Michael in Wexford, and Duncormick.* This Hospital and its possessions were granted to Sir Henry Harrington, at the annual rent of £35 16s. 8d.

THE ABBEY OF ATHASSEL, in the County of Tipperary, was founded for Canons Regular by William Fitz Adelme de Burgo in the thirteenth century. This Abbey was an almshouse, and from the days of the founder down to its suppression various property had, to an immense amount, been bequeathed to it in pure and perpetual alms. By an inquisition held in the 5th of Edward VI the following parcel of its possessions were confiscated: 180 acres, part of the demesne lands of the Priory; 260 acres of arable and 100 of pasture in the townland of Athassel; 8 messuages and 280 acres in Clonaul, together with the Rectories of Athassel, Clonmel, Tipperary, and 29 others. The Abbey of Athassel and part of its possessions were granted to Thomas, Earl of Ormond.†

THE ABBEY OF CARRICK-ON-SUIR was founded about the close of the twelfth century by William de Cantwell for Canons Regular of St. Augustin, and was afterwards made subject to the Hospital of St. John de Acon, London. This Abbey was an Asylum for the poor until the 28th of Henry VIII, when it was suppressed and granted to Thomas Earl

* Chief Rememb.

† Id.

of Ormond with an adjoining park and a carucate of land in Ballnacanagh.*

THE PRIORY AND HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY, DROGHEDA, without the west gate, was founded about the year 1206 by Ûrsus de Swemele, as the charter specifies, for the aid and support of the sick. To this Hospital, over which the Trinitarians were placed, the founder bequeathed all his lands in Ireland; viz.: the lands on which the Priory had been erected, containing 40 acres; with the lands of Kilneir and Odina, and sundry tenements in the town of Drogheda. In this charitable institution, relief was administered to the sick until the 31st of Henry VIII, when its gates were closed against them and the property confiscated without reserve.—The Mayor and burgesses of Drogheda obtained a grant of the Hospital with 30 acres in the townland of Carlingford; 6 acres in the townland of Glaspistell; 12 acres in Strabane; various messuages in Dundalk; the lands of Priortown and the Rectory of Inishsmothe, in the County of Louth.†

THE PRIORY AND HOSPITAL OF CASTLEDERMOT, in the County of Kildare, was founded in the thirteenth century for Trinitarians, by Walter de Riddlesford. It was an alms-house and an asylum for the sick. In the 23rd of Elizabeth it was granted to Sir Henry Harrington with 40 acres of land, part of the demesne of the Hospital; 3 messuages; 130 acres in Grangeford; and 6 townlands in the County of Kildare.‡

THE PRIORY AND HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, in Down, was founded by John de Courcey for Trinitarians.—This asylum, in which the sick had been received, was granted to Gerald, Earl of Kildare, with two carucates of land in Woodamstown; 1 carucate in Ballingarricke, and 2 in Carricknalt; together with the Nunnery of Lismullen in the County of Meath, including 150 acres of arable and 20

* Lodge, Vol. II.

† Aud. Gen.

‡ Id.

of pasture land in the County of Meath; 60 acres in Harretstown; 280 acres in Clotterstown; 97 acres in Belgrecourt, County of Dublin; 560 acres in Balmacaran; and 450 acres in Dunsinck and Paynestown.*

THE PRIORY AND HOSPITAL OF KILKENNY-WEST, in the County of Westmeath, was founded for Trinitarians by the family of Tyrrell in the thirteenth century. The sick had been received within its walls until it became a prey to the rapacity of the times. In the 11th of Elizabeth it was granted with 12 messuages and 2 carucates of land to Robert Dillon.†

THE COMMANDERY OF KILMAINHAM-BEG in the County of Meath was erected for Knights Templars by Walter de Lacy, in the reign of Richard I. At the suppression this Hospital was granted at the yearly rent of £63 12s. 2d. to Sir Patrick Barnwell, together with the townlands of Syddaurat, Michelstown, Gardourat, Begstown, and various tenements in Donaghpatrick and Kells.‡

THE COMMANDERY OF KILSARAN, in the County of Louth, was erected for Knights Templars by Maud de Lacy in the reign of Edward II. This Hospital, in which the sick were received, was suppressed at the same time with the former.—Its possessions lay in the Counties of Louth, Dublin and Meath: and among its Rectories were Rochestown, Gormanstown, Cremartyn, Archerstown, Kilmaynock, Porleveran, and Keppock.§

THE PRIORY AND HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, Kells, County of Meath, was founded for Trinitarians in the reign of Richard I, by Walter de Lacy. The charitable bequests, which at various times had been made to this Hospital and through its agency conferred upon the poor, became at length very considerable; it continued an open and public asylum for the sick, until the commissioners of Henry VIII

* Aud. Gen.

† Id.

‡ King, p. 71.

§ Id.

had entered upon their novel plan for reforming the charity of the Gospel. In the 31st year of his reign the sick were ejected, the house of mercy was suppressed and the property which had been religiously bequeathed to the poor was outrageously torn from them. It was afterwards granted to Richard Slayne with a fractional portion of its possessions: 74 acres, being the demesne lands; 19 messuages; a water mill; 3 closes and 100 acres of pasture near Kells; 40 acres in St. John's Rath; 70 acres in Mollaghe and the townland of Coriston, together with the Rectories of St. John in Kells, of Stonehall and of Durvaghe in O'Reily's country.*

In this brief selection we have noticed only some of the most remarkable of those establishments, in which the property bequeathed to the sick and destitute poor of Ireland had been deposited. They were the hallowed asylums of charity—the consecrated sanctuaries of repose for helpless, desolate, suffering humanity. On this subject, however, no comment shall be offered. The facts already advanced shall speak for themselves: they may serve to delineate the character of that frightful epoch in which they occurred and make us acquainted with one of the principal sources of all the woes and calamities of our unhappy country.

* Chief Rememb.

To these public asylums might be added a lengthened catalogue of similar institutions, all of which had been spoliated and demolished in the sixteenth century. Among these the following may be noticed: the Priory and Hospital of Athy, founded in the thirteenth century for Trinitarians by Richard, Lord of Rheban; the Priory and Hospital of Newtown, for Trinitarians, in the County of Meath; the Commandery and Hospital of Clonaul in the County of Tipperary; the Hospital of Kilmainham-Wood in the County of Meath; the Hospital of Kinalekin in the County of Galway; the Hospital of Teagh-Temple in the County of Sligo; the Hospital of Raddown in the County of Roscommon; the Hospital of Killarge in the County of Carlow; the Hospital of Kibarry in the County of Waterford; the Hospital of Adaire for Trinitarians, in the County of Limerick; the Hospital of Rhincrew in the County of Waterford; the Hospital of Kilhill in the County of Kildare; the Hospital of Ballyhack in the County of Wexford; the Hospital of Crook in the County of Waterford; the Hospital of Tully in the County of Kildare; the Hospital of Duleek in the County of Meath; and the Hospital of Any in the County of Limerick.

CHAPTER III.

Religious and Literary Characters of the Sixteenth Century—General Observations.

MAURICE DE PORTU, Archbishop of Tuam, eminent for his Scriptural illustrations and learned commentaries on the writings of Scotus, flourished in the commencement of the sixteenth century. The family name was O'Fihely. He was born in the County of Cork, near Baltimore, a place remarkable for its commodious and beautiful harbour; on which account he was generally known among his contemporaries by the distinctive appellation of De Portu. With an intention of embracing the Franciscan institute, Maurice at a very early age repaired to Padua in Italy, where he made his religious profession and prosecuted his studies with such success that after a period he took out a degree of Doctor (*utriusque juris*) and taught for several years in the University of that City with unbounded applause. During his residence in this ancient seat of literature, Maurice undertook the revision of the *Reportata*, the *Dialectic Questions* and other works of Scotus, which he illustrated with valuable notes and relieved from the obscurity with which such abstruse and metaphysical subjects had unavoidably abounded.* About the same period he published his "*Enchiridion of Faith*" and his "*Dictionary of the Sacred Scriptures*," which latter work was reprinted in 1603, at the request of the illustrious Matthew Zane, Patriarch of Venice.† The reputation of this learned man was not confined to Italy; his commentaries were received in most of the schools throughout the south of Europe and opened a correspondence between

* Wadding de Script.

† Possevin, *Apparat Sacr. Orig. Franc.* Pars I.

him and many of the most eminent teachers in the universities of that age. Among the number of these, may be noticed the learned John Camers, who in his notes on the 35th chapter of Solinus thus writes. "In the year following, Mauritius de Portu, a native of Ireland, of the Order of St. Francis, became eminent for his extraordinary knowledge of Divinity, Logick, Philosophy and Metaphysicks. It is scarce possible to relate how obliging and courteous, how holy and religious he was in his conversation. He had by him several written monuments of his learning; but his unexpected death prevented their immediate publication. Six hundred letters, which he has written to me on several occasions, must shew the intimate friendship which subsisted between us; with the reading of which I am infinitely delighted; so great is the love of true friendship even beyond the power of the grave." In consequence of his piety as well as his learning he was held in peculiar esteem by Pope Julius II, and in June 1506, was advanced by that Pontiff to the Archiepiscopal See of Tuam, then vacant by the death of Philip Pinson. The Archbishop Maurice together with Thomas Halsay, Bishop of Leighlin, attended at the fifth Council of Lateran in 1515. On the following year he returned to Ireland, but had scarcely reached Galway, when he was seized with a sudden illness and died in the Franciscan Convent of that town, where he was interred on the 28th of May, 1516. Anthony Wood, Possevin and others enumerate the following works which have proceeded from his pen.* *Expositio, sive Lectura accuratissima in Quæstiones Dialecticas D. Johannis Scoti, in Isagogen Porphyrii, Venice—1512. Commentaria Doctoris Subtilis Johannis Scoti in duodecim libros Metaphysicæ Aristotelis emendata, et Quotationibus, concordantiis atque annotationibus decorata, Venice—1507. Epithemata in insigne formalitatum opus, de mente Doctoris Subtilis, Venice—1514.*

* *Athenæ Oxonienses*, v. i. p. 9.

Dictionarium Sacræ Scripturæ, universis concionatoribus utile et necessarium, Venice—1603. *Epistolæ diversæ ad Johannem Camersium* (Sexaginta.) Maurice De Portu has likewise written the life of John Duns Scotus, and a Book of distinctions, which has been preserved among the Franciscans at Ravenna.

NICHOLAS MAGUIRE, Bishop of Leighlin, has been justly ranked by our annalists among the learned writers of the sixteenth century. He was born about the year 1460, in the County of Carlow, but in compliance with the prevailing custom of this age he retired to Oxford where he received his education. On his return to his native country his talents and acquirements were soon appreciated, and after some time he was appointed to the Prebendary of Ullard in the diocese of Leighlin. Besides his extensive scholastic knowledge and his intimate acquaintance with the writings of the ancient Fathers, Nicholas became particularly celebrated for his elaborate and successful researches into the history and antiquities of his native country. A revision of its ancient annals, a correction of its chronology, and other subjects of national interest had been projected and were in a state of considerable progress, when he was obliged to yield to the wishes of his superior and undertake the government of the diocese of Leighlin. After his promotion to that See in April, 1490, he devoted the greater portion of his time to the pastoral charge now committed to his care, and being one of the most eloquent preachers of the day his discourses were attended with extraordinary success. This excellent Prelate died in 1512: the only portion of his writings which have been published are a Life of his predecessor Miles Roche, and his Chronicle which has been of great service to succeeding annalists and particularly to the learned Dowling in 1598.*

THOMAS FITCH flourished in the early part of the sixteenth

* Ware's Writers.

century and was the author of some valuable records which are occasionally referred to by modern antiquarians. Having studied at Oxford he became a Canon Regular of St. Augustin and sub-prior of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Christ Church, Dublin. He has written a work, entitled "*De rebus suæ Ecclesiæ*," which has been generally called the "*White Book of Christ Church*." To Thomas is likewise attributed the "*Necrology*," or book of obits of the said Church. Thomas Fitch died on the 16th of January, 1517, and was interred in Christ Church.*

RODERIC CASSIDY, the learned continuator of the *Ulster Annals*, contributed by his talents and research to spread additional light around the antiquities of his native country. He was a distinguished divine, a civilian and a philosopher, and became Archdeacon of Clogher under the learned Patrick Cullen, Bishop of that diocese, in 1520. By the united labours of these two eminent men, that invaluable record, *the Register of the ancient diocese of Clogher*, had been completed, together with a catalogue of the Prelates of that See. The *Ulster Annals* (as has been already observed) were commenced by Charles Maguire and brought down to the year 1495;† the work was resumed by Cassidy and continued to the last year of his own life, 1541. He has likewise enriched the first part of these national annals by the addition of several interesting events, and had intended to illustrate the whole record with a supplement and a variety of scholia demonstrating its chronological accuracy, but the infirmity of old age prevented him. This learned antiquarian died at Clogher, A.D. 1541.

DAVID DE LA HOIDE, an eminent writer of this age, was born in the barony of Carbury, County of Kildare, about the year 1526. He received his education in Merton College, Oxford, where he took his degree of master of arts in 1553,

* Ware—Harris's Writers.

† See cent. xv. c. iii.

and afterwards obtained a distinguished rank among the literary characters of those times. "He was (says Stanihurst) an exquisite and profound clerk, extremely well versed in the Greek and Latin languages, and an expert Mathematician, Antiquary and Divine."* When Elizabeth ascended the throne, the doctrine of the Queen's spiritual supremacy was rigidly enforced in the universities; it was, as might be expected, indignantly rejected by numbers, and among these the learned De La Hoide stood particularly conspicuous. In 1560 he published an able dissertation, in which he exposed the novel absurdity of constituting a woman the head of a church, on which account he was expelled the university and was afterwards obliged to take refuge on the Continent. The only works of this learned and conscientious man, which have escaped the fury of those times, are an oration addressed to Jasper Haywood, entitled "*De Ligno et Fæno*," in allusion to the name of that personage—also "*Schemata Rhetorica in tabulam contracta*."

PATRICK QUEMERFORD, a native of Waterford, and a distinguished alumnus of the University of Oxford, was about the same time pursued by the intolerant spirit of the laws and obliged to take refuge in a foreign land. Soon after his ordination, in 1562, he removed to Louvain, where he renewed his studies with such brilliant success that after some time he took out a degree of doctor of divinity, and became one of the most eminent lecturers in that university. The desire which he had always cherished of combining the religious with the literary life had at length induced him to become a member of the society of the Jesuits: accordingly he removed to Spain, where he was honourably employed for many years and obtained unbounded applause in some of the most celebrated colleges of that kingdom. He is said to have written many learned tracts on philosophical and theological subjects.

* *Descrip. Hib. cap. vii.*

During his residence in Ireland he published a treatise, entitled "Answers to certain questions propounded by the Citizens of Waterford:" together with a collection of Sermons. Likewise "*Carmina in laudem Comitum Ormondiaë*."*

RICHARD STANIHURST has, by his several learned productions, contributed to add to the literature of this age. He was a native of Dublin: his father James Stanihurst was Recorder of that City and had been elected Speaker of the Irish House of Commons in several parliaments. Richard Stanihurst was also, by the marriage of his sister Margaret, uncle to James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh. Having completed his course with considerable success at Oxford, where he took a degree he removed to London and applied himself to the study of the law at Furnival's and Lincoln's Inns. About this time he published his "*Commentaries on Porphyry*," a production of his youthful days; his next work "*De Rebus in Hibernia Gestis*," appears to have been digested immediately after, if we may be allowed to judge from the general outline of its statements and the object which it is presumed the author had at that time in contemplation. This production comprises a valuable store of interesting historical materials, but like other treatises of a similar description it abounds with repeated errors and most palpable misrepresentations. The encouragement, which even from an early period had been held out to vilify the character of this country, was in the sixteenth century carried to an extravagant and shameless extent. Its natural resources, its history and its language were depreciated by some, the religion and education of its people, their habits and morals were satirized and unsparingly maligned by others. Should a writer feel anxious to advance himself through the medium of court patronage or of popular retribution, he was generally constrained to go along with the current of the

* Athen, Oxon. vol. I.

times, and it was most probably from a source such as this that the numerous misstatements contained in the aforesaid work of Stanihurst had taken their rise. "He was prejudiced (says Keating,) by the rewards which had been promised him, but he lived to repent this injustice, and when he had entered into orders he promised publicly to retract all the falsehoods he had published, for which purpose a writing was drawn up with an intention of having it printed in Ireland."* His work "*De Rebus in Hibernia Gestis*," was published in four books at Antwerp in 1584, together with an appendix from Giraldus Cambrensis. On his return to Ireland, Richard Stanihurst resolved on applying himself to the practice of his legal profession, but being soon disgusted with the intolerant spirit of the times he left the country and retired with his family to Brussels. In this City his wife died by whom he had a son named William, who afterwards became a Jesuit and an excellent writer.† After the death of his wife, Richard took holy orders and became chaplain to the Archduke Albert, at that time residing in Brussels as Governor of the Spanish Netherlands.‡ About this period he completed his life of St. Patrick in two books, edited also at Antwerp, in 1587. His other works are *Hebdomeda Mariana ex Orthodoxis Catholicæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Patribus Collecta*, Antwerp 1609; *Hebdomeda Eucharistica*, Douay 1614; *Brevis præmunitio pro futura concertatione cum Jacobo Usserio Hiberno, qui conatur probare, Pontificem Romanum verum esse Antichristum*, Douay 1615. He has written in the English language, a Description of Ireland; a translation of the first four books of Virgil's *Æneid* into heroic verse; and a translation of some of the Psalms of David. Richard Stanihurst died at an advanced age in Brussels, A.D. 1618.

One of the principal characteristics of Christianity is, that

* Preface, p. 9. † Biblioth. Script. Soc. Jes. ‡ Miræus, *De Stat. Rel. I.* l. c. 52.

its truths had been diffused over the nations of the earth without the help of either wealth, power or persecution. A few individuals bereft of all human aid, but assisted by heaven, went forth to plant the cross and to proclaim a Gospel, every maxim of which was in direct opposition to all the long cherished prejudices and favourite passions of mankind. The sword was drawn—the great and mighty of the earth rose up—the philosopher in his pride—the tyrant in his wrath—villages with their population—cities with their multitudes—the whole world was arrayed in hostility against them, yet they succeeded, and by meekness and forbearance, by truth and conviction they laid prostrate the superstitions of ages and on the ruins thereof erected the cross and the triumphant Gospel of a crucified Saviour. On the other hand, error and impiety can make no advance unless accompanied by cruelty and the whole train of human calamities; hence it is, that the surest index of a fallacious system is the misery, the woes, the scourges, which in its rise and progress it never fails to employ and unsparingly inflict on mankind. The truth of this observation is more than abundantly illustrated by the history of religion in its various forms and revolutions throughout the different states and nations of the world.—Let us take for example Mahometanism and place it before us as a criterion. The impostor himself set out on the principle of actual compulsion: he put weapons in the hands of his followers: he drew the sword and plundered and exterminated every man who refused to receive the peculiar system which he unauthoritatively had thought proper to force upon them. From Arabia his successors penetrated into Asia: the rich plains of Palestine, of Asia Minor and Persia were soon covered with the dead and crimsoned with the blood of their inhabitants. Villages, towns and cities were sacked and demolished; public security as well as private property became alike the objects of fanatical fury; confiscations, outrageous despotism, the plunder and blood of the people marked the

footsteps of the innovating religionist, while these beautiful countries, so blessed by nature, were literally transformed into an almost desolate waste over which terror and death seemed to maintain an awfully universal and undisputed dominion. Such is the brief but correct outline of both Christianity and Mahometanism in their rise and progress; it now remains with the reader to determine, from the historical facts already stated, to which of the two does the event usually termed the reformation of the sixteenth century bear the nearest and most natural resemblance. The limits of these remarks prevent us from entering into further illustration: the point at issue is, however, an axiom—a melancholy and an heart-rending one to this unhappy country.

We shall now turn our attention to the unparalleled, outrageous plunder which had been committed on the sick and destitute poor of Ireland; still keeping in view the contrast between ancient and modern times—between those ages of Catholicity when the sick had hospitals and the poor had alms-houses without any expense or tax on the public, and this our day, when the unemployed, the infirm and the destitute are confined in work-houses, while the erection and expenditure thereof must fall principally on the shoulders of an already overburdened, impoverished and confessedly tottering community. Before Henry VIII began his confiscations we had numberless hospitals and alms-houses in this country. To these asylums an immense portion of property had been bequeathed by divers charitable persons and these bequests were expressed in such a manner that those who had the property in trust, that is, the priors and abbots, were rendered incapable of appropriating the smallest portion of it to their own use. These hospitals had been bound by charter as well as by their institute to keep a certain number of beds in readiness for the sick; while the alms-houses were thrown open to the public, and every man in want of bread—the friendless and the destitute met a welcome reception, nay

more, they had a claim to the relief which was there freely and generously administered. In forming, therefore, an estimate of the public plunder which had been committed under the pretext of a religious reformation, we abstract altogether from that part of the property, which by donation, personal acquirement and right appertained to the ecclesiastical bodies themselves: we take into account only that portion which exclusively belonged to the infirm and the destitute poor of the country, and which we have seen has been shamelessly torn from them. But most assuredly, Christianity must have been outrageously abused, when its sacred name is employed for purposes so base and revolting: we may read of ancient and of modern autocrats and deprecate their doings, but let history even in its blackest page point out any one nation under heaven where human beings have been so oppressed merely because they were unwilling to give up the religion of their fathers and adopt the whims and fancies of a wicked monarch and of a corrupted and an abandoned court. If the religious institutions of ancient times were to be upset, and if the property appertaining *exclusively to these institutions* was to be sacrificed, be it so; but the great question still remains, why invade the rights of the poor? Why demolish the public hospital? Why close the door of the alms-house, or confiscate that property which by fair and legal bequest, by natural justice belonged to the sick, the infirm and the unemployed destitute poor of Ireland? The answer to these queries would lead us to the very source of these evils: it may be readily traced in the historical outline which has been presented in the foregoing sheets, and will be still more forcibly elucidated by both the civil and ecclesiastical events of the subsequent century.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Sufferings of the Church of Ireland under James I—Intolerant proceedings of Knox and Chichester—Apostolical letter of Paul V—State of Catholicity on the accession of Charles I—History of the Supreme Council—Ormond creates a division among the confederates—Arrival of the Nuncio, Rinuccini—Meeting of the Prelates at Waterford—Censures of the Nuncio and their consequences—Synod of the Prelates at Loughrea and James's-town—Awful progress of Cromwell through Ireland—History of the Bishops and Priests who sealed the Faith with their blood—Remonstrance of the Irish Clergy under Charles II—State of the Church of Ireland under James II and William III.

The wrongs hitherto inflicted on the Catholics of Ireland were, without doubt, multiplied and grievous; they were, however, but a mere prelude to the crucible through which the same persecuted but faithful people were, during the entire period of the seventeenth century, doomed to pass. When the sceptre of England had been placed in the hands of the Stuarts and that James I ascended the British throne, in 1603, the hope of obtaining justice began once more to beam upon Catholic Ireland. Many of those who had been forced into exile returned to their native country: Churches were rebuilt—Monasteries repaired—the sacred duties of the sanctuary were resumed and the offices of the Church were performed with undisturbed safety throughout the kingdom. This state of comparative tranquillity was not, however,

suffered to continue: the mercenary spirit of James had rendered him callous to the feelings of humanity as well as to the dictates of religion, and whenever wealth was to be accumulated or favouritism indulged, both religion and humanity became alike disregarded. Scarcely had this Monarch been placed on the throne of England and the hopes of the people began to revive, when the storm with renewed fury appeared to collect around them. It was ushered in by the publication of an edict dated the 4th of July, 1605; the enactments of Elizabeth were to be rigorously enforced with the following additional announcement: "it hath seemed proper to us to proclaim and we hereby make known to our subjects in Ireland that no toleration shall ever be granted by us; this we do for the purpose of cutting off all hope that any other religion shall be allowed save that which is consonant to the laws and statutes of this realm."*

The publication of this edict threw the country once more into a state of despondency; it was considered by some as having emanated from the Deputy without having perhaps obtained the royal sanction, nevertheless that it was the sure forerunner of new and frightful calamities was a truth which no one presumed to question. The clergy were once more obliged to conceal themselves—the nobility were harassed—the oath of supremacy was renewed and every means were adopted to gain acquiescence or force it violently on the nation. Such an attempt was, however, as fruitless as it was oppressive: the resolution of the Catholics of Ireland was not to be shaken, while the Monarch was left to the mortifying reflection, that his edict had tended only to impart new vigour to the already avowed determination of the people. When open persecution fails, intrigue and the seeds of division are the last materials that remain in the hands of a despot. A new oath is devised and Catholics of every class

* O'Daly, *Relatio Persec. Hib.* p. 232.

are called upon to adopt it as the only test of their allegiance. The substance of this oath regarded principally the well known and, at that time, almost universally received doctrine among schoolmen, by which the Pope's direct or indirect power over temporalities was maintained, together with the right of deposing princes who should happen to come under the public censures of the Church. Every Catholic is aware that this doctrine forms no article of his faith: it was, as has been already stated, a mere question in the schools; at this day it is exploded—yet, at the time of which we are treating, the introduction of such a doctrine, set forth in the shape of an oath and presented as a state document, produced no small share of discontent and alarm throughout the kingdom. Among the divines and canonists no inconsiderable division prevailed; some maintaining that such oath could be taken as an evidence of fidelity to the ruling power; while others were for adhering to the old scholastic doctrine, inasmuch as in the formula of the oath, the opinion itself was emphatically termed both *impious* and *heretical*. The question, however, was put at rest by the brief of Paul V in 1606, which was immediately followed by another at the close of the same year: in both of these briefs, the oath was declared unlawful.* The reader must be sensible, that the discussion of this subject comes not within the sphere of this analysis: one thing is certain; give the people liberty—give them that justice to which they are entitled—open the door to toleration, and such oaths become unnecessary—such questions become at once both unmeaning and innocuous.

The firmness of the Catholics effected what might be termed a respite of about four years: during this brief period the repose which the country seemed to enjoy resembled more the awful stillness of the grave than the flourishing tranquillity of a contented and a happy nation. The materials of

* O'Daly, *Relat. Persecut. Hib.* p. 255.

destruction were gathering, the lava was already collected and nothing was wanted but the bursting of the crater to make the scene more terrific than ever. In Ireland as well as in England there were agents ready and willing to commence the execution of such a task: this class, in both countries, was numerous enough, while the sphere in which they moved and the power which they fortunately had not in their hands served only to cast a deeper tinge on the darkness of their character. At length in 1610 the proclamation of Chichester the then Deputy of Ireland, furnished the opportunity which had been so anxiously desired.* The sword is drawn, and the altars and priesthood of the country are once more yielded up to the rapacity of the fanatical bigots of the day. It is unnecessary to allow insertion to this document; it was merely a transcript of the edict already published in 1605.—By some it was read with scorn; others pitied the man who seemed to be so little acquainted with the spirit of the nation and all were determined to stand round their religion, the only undestroyed monument of their ancient national grandeur. Notwithstanding this unshaken resolution on the part of the Catholics, the spirit of the proclamation was followed up, while Chichester, like another Nero, was not unfrequently seen to revel amidst both the ideal and real scenes of its consequences.

Time, however, at length developed the utter incompetency of the Governor, nor was it until the arrival of Knox from Scotland that either Chichester or his agents could summon courage sufficient enough to meet the united resolve of the Catholics of this country. Knox (a name sufficiently notorious in the annals of those times,) had just been nominated Bishop of Raphoe; he held moreover the title of Supreme Prelate, and partly by his obsequiousness but much more from his inveterate hostility to the Catholics

* O'Daly, p 267 et Seq.

he obtained the second seat among the counsellors of the kingdom. Before his departure from London, Knox entered into a solemn engagement to extirpate the Catholic religion in Ireland; while the King, on his part, invested him with powers the most ample. The new apostle had scarcely arrived in Dublin when he presented himself before the Deputy, and in language grave and eloquent set forth the high commission with which he had been entrusted. Chichester, partly from inclination but much more through dread of the monarch, instantly yields assent, and thus was Knox, under the name of a Christian bishop, authorized to draw the sword and revel amidst the sufferings of his fellow-men. From among the many edicts issued on this occasion the following shall be selected.* First, all bishops and priests are to quit the kingdom under penalty of death. Secondly, whoever shall harbour a priest shall be punished by the confiscation of his property. Thirdly, no papist shall send his son or relative beyond the seas for education under the usual penalty. Fourthly, no papist shall attempt to discharge the duty of schoolmaster in the kingdom. Fifthly, all persons of every age, sex and rank shall be present at the service of common prayer on the Lord's Day.

The disappointment which Knox and his followers experienced must have served as an additional stimulant to their propensity for intolerance. They came to this country under an impression that abundance of Church property still remained; the altar with the magnificence of the sanctuary was shining brilliant before their eyes, and although they pretended to hold the Bible in one hand, they had the other already stretched out to grapple with the spoils. But unfortunately these were all gone, they were swept away by Elizabeth and her predecessors, while the trifling fragments which remained were carefully collected and already secured

* Porter's Eccl. Annal. p. 249

by their own countrymen. During the persecution of Knox the small humble chapels, which the people of Ireland had with difficulty erected, were plundered and defiled: the altars were demolished, plate, vestments and chalices were converted to profane uses: not content with despoiling the sanctuary, it was an occurrence by no means unusual to break into the houses of the nobility and the more comfortable classes, and carry away cups, goblets and other furniture, under pretence that they were popish vessels belonging to the service of the Church.*

The constancy and heroism of the Catholics of Ireland became now a general subject of eulogy throughout the different nations of the Continent; while Paul V addressed to them an apostolical letter in which he compares them to the martyrs of primitive times, exhorts them to perseverance and points out the rewards which in a better world must await them.† “Ye glory in that faith (he adds,) by which your fathers procured for their country the distinguished appellation of an Island of Saints. Nor have the sufferings which ye endured been allowed to remain unpublished; your fidelity and christian fortitude have become the subject of universal admiration and the praise of your name has long since been loudly celebrated in every portion of the Christian world.—Wherefore be steadfast and persevere: our prayers shall be unceasing.”

On the return of Chichester to Ireland in 1615 the persecution was resumed; but, as Cecil and the King himself were obliged to acknowledge, it only served to render the Catholics more united and determined than ever. So astonished were the most implacable of their adversaries, that Chichester was wont to declare, “that popery must be something inherent in the soil of Ireland; that the very air and climate

* Porter's Eccl. Annal. p. 252.

† *Hibernia Resurgens*. ab. David Roth, Ep. Ossorien

must be infected therewith; when, sooner than abandon it, men were determined on renouncing obedience to their prince, all regard for their posterity, and even their own temporal happiness and lives.”*

The Deputy Sir Oliver St. John, who succeeded Chichester in 1616, even surpassed his predecessor in intolerance. This Governor, immediately on his arrival in Dublin, caused his proclamation for the arrest of priests to be published.—Armed commissaries headed by the notorious Boyton scoured the country; the houses of the nobility were pillaged; numbers were cast into prison, while terror and despair once more covered the face of the kingdom.† Such was the melancholy state of affairs, when the Catholic prelates of Ireland suggested the propriety of addressing a supplicatory remonstrance to all the orthodox princes of Europe and particularly to Charles III of Spain. There was nothing either in the object or in the terms of this document which could even remotely be construed either into disaffection or disrespect for the sovereign under whose laws they were doomed to live. It exhibited a full and faithful outline of persecutions hitherto unparalleled, accompanied with an earnest supplication that the Spanish Monarch would interpose and by admonitory influence prevail on James to relax the severity of those statutes which had been so long and so unsparingly enforced against his Catholic subjects.‡ This appeal seems to have produced the desired effect; in 1622 Carey, Viscount Falkland, was appointed Lord Deputy, and was moreover invested with power from the King to allow to the Irish Catholics the unrestricted exercise of their religion.§ This just and benign commission would most probably have been put into execution, had it not been prevented by James Usher, then Protestant Bishop of Meath and afterwards of Armagh. With such vehemence did this zealot and his

* Porter, p. 280. † *Analecta Sacra*, p. 356. ‡ *Id.* p. 440. § Ware, ad An. 1622.

faction prosecute their scheme, that on the following year the former sanguinary edicts were renewed, while the clergy, both secular and regular, were once more ordered to quit the kingdom within forty days or be subject to the penalties specified by law.* Such was the lamentable condition in which the people of Ireland stood when James I closed his mortal career. He died on the 27th of March, 1625.

Charles, who succeeded on the demise of his father, would perhaps have acted justly towards his Irish Catholic subjects, had that spirit of religious phrenzy by which the nation was then distracted and the interested advisers by whom he was surrounded allowed him to act agreeably to the impulse of his own feelings. He certainly intended to grant liberty of conscience to the Catholics of Ireland, but as Ware testifies, he was ultimately prevented by the Protestant hierarchy;† accordingly in 1629 we find the usual edicts revived, but with just as little prospect of breaking down the spirit of the people as ever. The writers of those times, in general, give Charles great credit for his liberality and good intentions towards Ireland; but it must be admitted that like the rest of the Stuarts he was weak, timid and vacillating: he made use of his friends to serve his own private views, and whenever it answered his purpose he allowed them to become the victims of the caprice and cruelty of their enemies.

Hitherto we have seen Protestant rulers and Protestant prelates issuing edicts and with fire and sword pursuing their Catholic fellow-subjects. The scene at length is changed; the spirit of discord, which assuredly belongs to every innovation, is now evoked, and one Protestant faction draws the sword against the other until at length the throne is upset and the Monarch himself ends his days on the scaffold. Charles, at the instigation of Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, attempts, in 1637, to force Protestant episcopalian doctrines

* Ware, ad An. 1623.

† Id. ad An. 1626.

with the liturgy of the English church on the Presbyterians of Scotland. The experiment proved to be a fatal one; a formidable resistance is made and in a short time the whole nation is up in arms. In the mean time the governors, to whose care the management of Ireland had been intrusted, used every means to harrass the Catholics: new confiscations were threatened, the prisons were thrown open and a general extermination was virtually proclaimed. To sources such as these must be traced the insurrection of 1641; while to oppression on the one hand and resistance on the other must be attributed those frightful scenes which the civil history of these times so lamentably unfolds.

The cause of the Puritans was by this time rapidly advancing in England: a great portion of the Irish parliament and nearly all the officers of state professed themselves in favour of their views, while it was well known, that had they succeeded in the overthrow of monarchy their first act would be to extirpate the Catholics of Ireland, or cause them to be transplanted as colonies along the wilds and desert shores of the West Indies.* Thus circumstanced the Irish Catholics thought it high time to consult their own preservation. Every law both divine and natural imperatively called on them to stand round their religion and secure their altars, their lives and their property from the destruction by which they were all inevitably and now alike threatened. In 1642, a general convention of the nation was determined upon; the City of Kilkenny being the place appointed for the deliberation of its affairs. Besides the Catholic nobility and prelates of the kingdom, this memorable assembly was composed of a certain number of the most influential men chosen from each city, town and county. The freedom of their religion, of their country and of their king being the great object for which they had confederated, they came to the resolution of recur-

* Bruodin, *Descriptio Rel. Hib.* p. 63.

ring to the only means now in their power, their own union, their strength and their arms; and they bound themselves by a solemn oath, never to sheath the sword until they saw their religion free, their king constitutionally independent and they themselves in possession of their natural and inalienable rights. At the same time the prelates and clergy were called on as citizens and as the guardians of religion to come forward and co-operate with their countrymen. In compliance with this demand of the nation a Synod was convened at Kilkenny early in the month of May, in which it was unanimously resolved—"That, whereas, the Catholics of Ireland have taken up arms in defence of their religion, for the preservation of the king already threatened with destruction by the Puritans, as likewise for the security of their own lives, possessions and liberty, we, on the part of the Catholics, declare these proceedings to be most just and lawful. Nevertheless if, in the pursuit of these objects, any person or persons should be actuated by motives of avarice, malice or revenge, we declare such persons to be guilty of a grievous offence and deservedly subject to the censures of the Church, unless upon advice they change their intentions and pursue a different course." Given at Kilkenny, 12th of May, 1642.* Thus animated the Catholics of Ireland are now determined to insist on their rights; and that their proceedings might be conducted with order and becoming dignity, a council of twenty-four is selected out of the general body. The members composing this tribunal were denominated the Supreme Council of the Confederated Catholics of Ireland; Richard Butler, Viscount Mountgarret was their President, and to the decision of this Council the entire nation bound itself to pay implicit obedience. The success which attended their arms during this and the following year surpassed even the hopes of the most sanguine; in a few months they found themselves

* Bruodin, *Id. Ed. Romæ*, 1721.

in possession of Cork, Limerick, Galway, Sligo and Duncannon, then considered the most fortified part of the kingdom: they had, in short, all Ireland in their hands, except Dublin and a few forts in the North. Notwithstanding the brilliant and unprecedented success which up to this period had crowned the arms of the Confederates, nothing more was insisted upon than the original demand, namely, the natural and equitable enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. To this right they were entitled and considering the embarrassed state in which the affairs of Charles were then placed, their terms would most undoubtedly have been accepted, were it not for the treachery and double-dealing of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. This Governor was an avowed enemy of the Catholics. For some time he indulged the hope of being able to reduce them in the field, but perceiving himself disappointed he at length found means of prevailing on their leaders to come to a cessation. A peace was agreed upon for twelve months, on condition that each party should continue in the undisturbed possession of those places which they then occupied, while the Catholics, in submitting to it, may be said to have laid the foundation of their subsequent discomfiture.*

Early in the following year, Charles, now reduced to the greatest distress, directed Ormond to prolong the peace and come upon any terms with the Catholics, provided they would but assist him in putting down his rebellious subjects in England. On this occasion seven delegates were selected and sent by the Supreme Council to London, namely, Viscount Muskerry, Alexander Mac Donnell, Nicholas Plunket, Sir Robert Talbot, Dermot O'Brien, Richard Martin and Severinus Brown.† To all the terms proposed by this delegation, with the exception of one Charles readily assented. The delegates among other matters insisted on the secure pos-

* Porter, *Annal*, p. 287.

† Carte, v. i. p. 499.

session of all the churches then in their hands and of the property belonging to each; this they urged as forming an essential clause in the conditions of the treaty. The King, however, seemed reluctant; alleging that should he be a party to such a concession, he would inevitably raise up against himself even those very Protestants who had already taken up arms in support of his cause. It is very remarkable that not many months previously, the same observation had been used by Innocent X in the presence of the Secretary Richard Belling and of Father Luke Wadding, at that time the confidential agent of the Catholics of Ireland at Rome.* Scarcely had the delegates departed from London when Charles found it necessary to come into the terms already proposed. The Earl of Glomorgan, a nobleman for many reasons highly esteemed by the Catholic body, is therefore despatched to Ireland and soon after concludes the long desired peace with the Confederates; granting them, in the name of his Majesty, both the free exercise of their religion and the perpetual possession of all the cathedrals, parish churches and convents which the Catholics then enjoyed, together with the property appertaining to each of these establishments.† The Confederates, on their part, are pledged to raise a force of 10,000 men, this body to embark forthwith for England and assist Charles in reducing his enemies to subjection. Had Ormond allowed matters to remain in this state, Ireland would enjoy peace, the fanatics of Scotland would be compelled to submit and England, it is probable, would not be disgraced by shedding the blood of its Sovereign. But the measures, agreed to by Glomorgan, were too favourable to the Catholics. Ormond declares the treaty to be null and void, and in a manner as treacherous as it was unjust. causes the Earl to be cast into prison, insisting at the same time that to him alone were intrusted the proper powers of

* Belling, Annot. in Poncium, p. 182.

† Bruodin, p. 78.

treating with the Catholics and of placing the question at issue on a constitutional and permanent basis. Hitherto the union which prevailed in the Catholic body was the great cause of all their success. For the purpose, therefore, of creating a division amongst them, Ormond artfully drew up the formula of a new treaty consisting of thirty articles, but so ingeniously arranged that the interest of the laity was consulted, while the principal points on which the clergy insisted were altogether rejected.* This scheme, which bespeaks the policy as well as the malice of the author, had the desired effect, and henceforth we find nothing but discord pervading the councils of that body, which had up to this period evinced such unexampled unanimity. Such was the critical state in which the affairs of the Supreme Council and of the Catholics of Ireland stood, when John Baptist Rinuccini, a native of Florence and Archbishop of Firmo landed in this country, as Apostolic Nuncio from Pope Innocent X. He arrived in Kilkenny on the 12th of November, 1645, and was received by the Confederate assembly with every mark of respect and public rejoicing.† The manly, unequivocal language in which the Nuncio opened his commission in the presence of the Supreme Council is worthy of being recorded; it proves to the world the exalted purity of his motives as well as the stern justice of the cause in which he now undertook to co-operate. "I am well aware, he remarks, that persons will be found, ready to circulate false rumours; endeavouring to make the public believe that I have been sent over here by his Holiness, Innocent X, for the purpose of detaching the Catholic people of Ireland from the allegiance due to his most Serene Majesty, the King of England. How very far such an assertion is from truth, the Almighty searcher of hearts fully knows. I, therefore, publicly protest and solemnly call my God to witness, that I now do not, nor will

* *Vindiciæ Catholicorum Hiber. auctore Philopatre Iræneo, Lib. i. † Bruod. p. 96.*

I ever devise, approve of or do any thing which is or shall be detrimental to the honour, rights or interest of the most august King Charles. Nay more, I now publish and make known to the Catholics of Ireland, both absent and present, that nothing on earth would give greater satisfaction to his Holiness than that the Confederate Catholics, having recovered the full and free exercise of their faith, should shew unto their mighty and most serene King, although a Protestant, every mark of subjection, assistance and reverence.”*

The terms of the peace proposed by Ormond were by no means agreeable to the Nuncio: they were considered by him and by the clergy as a direct violation of the oath to which the Confederates had been already pledged. On the other hand they appeared satisfactory to many of the Catholic leaders and to the majority of the Supreme Council, especially as they embraced all their civil rights together with the free, public exercise of religion; the article which regarded the possession of their churches and of the ecclesiastical property, being the only exception. The treaty, however, was ultimately agreed upon by Ormond, on the part of the King, and on behalf of the Catholics by Viscount Muskerry, Sir Robert Talbot, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy and Severinus Brown, and was soon after published in Dublin, Kilkenny and the other cities and towns of the kingdom.† Considering the commanding attitude which the army of the Confederates had at this time maintained, it cannot be matter of surprise if a feeling of discontent had instantly manifested itself throughout the country. The independent portion of the laity denounced the members of the Supreme Council as traitors to the public cause; in the eyes of most of the clergy they were considered as perjurers, while it was strenuously maintained by many that the censures of the church should at once be enforced against men, who, for the purpose of

* *Analecta Sacra*, p. 200.

† *Philopater Irenæus*, Lib. i. c. 4.

advancing their own views, had thus abandoned the public trust so confidentially placed in their hands. In the midst of this universal excitement, a national Synod of the prelates and clergy of the kingdom was summoned by the Nuncio. This Synod was convened at Waterford; the conduct of the Supreme Council and the tenor of the oath by which they had originally bound themselves were discussed, the peace was condemned as unjust and alike detrimental to the cause of the country and of religion, while the following decree emanating from the Synod was caused to be printed and circulated throughout the different cities and towns of the kingdom. "By his Eminence John Baptist Rinuccini, Archbishop and Nuncio, and by the national Congregation of the clergy of Ireland both secular and regular. Questions discussed in the Synod of Waterford—Are those to be declared perjurers who accepted the terms of peace contained in the thirty articles already transmitted to the Supreme Council: again, if perjurers, should the sentence of excommunication be fulminated? Having received the opinions and reasons of each, and having moreover consulted the writings of the most approved theologians, it has been unanimously decreed, that all and each of the Confederate Catholics who shall adhere to this peace or give any assent to its supporters are absolutely to be considered as perjurers. Among other particulars, we find that in these articles no mention is made of the Catholic religion, no pledge is given for its security, nor is there any guarantee for the preservation of the rights of the country, as the oath most positively requires. On the contrary all these paramount objects are yielded up to the will and pleasure of the King himself, from whom, in the present disastrous state of affairs, nothing certain can be obtained. In the mean time, the army, the nation and the Supreme Council are subjected to the caprice and dominion of the ministers and officers of state—men who have always manifested their hostility to the Catholic religion. In order, therefore, that it may be

known to all, both in Ireland and elsewhere, that we never will give our consent to this or any other treaty, unless it shall include the security of our religion, our country and our king, and that our respective flocks may know our sentiments on this subject which is purely ecclesiastical, We, actuated by conscience and in the presence of God, have caused this decree to be passed ratified and published throughout the kingdom in both the English and Irish languages: and with our seals, we hereby confirm the same.* The question relative to the excommunication is reserved for a subsequent Session.”—Given at Waterford, 12th of August, A.D. 1646.†

Immediately after the termination of the Synod, the Nuncio returned to Kilkenny. His cause was now warmly supported by Owen O’Neil and the troops of the North, while Viscount Muskerry and the other members of the Supreme Council were taken into custody and with the exception of Nicholas

* The signatures to the above decree are in the following order.—

John Baptist, Archbishop of Fermo and Nuncio Apostolic; Thomas Fleming, O.S.F., Archbishop of Dublin and Primate of Ireland; Thomas Walsh, Archbishop of Cashel; Boetius Mac-Egan, O.S.F., Bishop of Elphin; Patrick Comerford, O.S.A., Bishop of Waterford and Lismore; John, Bishop of Killaloe; John, Bishop of Clonfert; Edmund O’Dempsey, O.P. Bishop of Leighlin; Richard O’Connell, Bishop of Ardfert and Aghadoe; Francis Kirwan, Bishop of Killala; Edmund O’Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick; Emerus Matthews, Bishop of Clogher; Nicholas French, Bishop of Ferns; James Conall, Abbot of Bangor; Patrick Plunkett, Abbot of St. Mary’s, Dublin; Laurence Fitz-Harris, Abbot of de Surio; John Cantwell, Abbot of Holy Cross; James Tobin, Abbot of Kilcoole; Robert Barry, Vicar Apostolic of Ross; Donald O’Gripha, Vicar Apostolic of Kilfenora; Gregory Ferrall, Provincial of the Dominicans; Denis O’Driscoll, Provincial of the Augustinians; Edmund O’Theige, Procurator of the Primate of Armagh, (Hugh O’Reilly;) Walter Lynch, Vicar Apost. of Tuam; William Burgat, Vicar Apost. of Emly; James Dempsey, V.G. of Kildare; Cornelius Gafney, V.G. of Ardagh; Oliver Dease, V.G. of Meath; Dominick Roche, V.G. of Cork; Simon O’Connory, V.G. of Cloyne; Edmund Fitz-Gerald, V.G. Clonmacnois; Charles Coghlan, V.G. L.— Robert Nugent, Superior of the Jesuits; Anthony Mac-Geoghan, Procurator Provincial of the Franciscans; Barnabas Barnewell, Commissary General of the Capuchins.

† Cox, Appendix, p. 122.—Ingrat. Disert. Ed. 1676.

Plunket and Patrick Darcy, were cast into prison. A general convocation of the whole nation is summoned, a new Council is chosen and the Nuncio himself is appointed its President. The oath required to be taken by this new confederate body was substantially the same as that which had been proposed by the former Supreme Council; the ecclesiastical portion of it, however, was more distinctly specified, and may be reduced to the following heads. I. All the laws enacted after the twentieth year of Henry VIII, against the free exercise of the Catholic religion were to be repealed. II. The Catholics were in future to enjoy the public exercise of their religion throughout the kingdom, with the same degree of ceremony and splendour as had been observed both in Ireland and in England during the reign of Henry VII. III. The secular clergy of Ireland were to hold and enjoy all their privileges, jurisdiction and immunities, in as free and as ample a manner as their predecessors had done, during the reign of Henry VII. IV. Archbishops, bishops and other dignitaries, and all parish priests shall possess their churches and benefices in the same ample manner as the Protestant clergy had enjoyed the same on the 1st day of October, 1641.* On the 5th of the ensuing October the sentence of excommunication, already referred to, was published in Kilkenny against all those, who after this promulgation should defend, sanction or in any manner approve of the late peace; and shortly after, by a protest of the general national confederacy, the same peace was declared null and void and of no effect, inasmuch as it afforded no kind of permanent security for the public exercise of the Catholic religion.

The dissensions which now ensued were attended with all their natural consequences. In the city as well as in the camp the link was broken, the spirit of the nation began to decline, while those who but a few days before stood match-

* Ex Archivo, S. Isidori, Armarium. v. num. viii. fol. 98.

less in the field were obliged either to contend with the Nuncio or stand by as useless spectators of the general ruin which was gathering fast around them. Delegates had been despatched to the Queen in Paris and to Innocent X, but nothing could be effected; they returned home without being able to obtain even the most remote promise of assistance.*

Inchequin had hitherto placed himself at the head of the Parliamentary troops. The views of the Puritans having, however, been fully developed he resolved to abandon his party, and in January 1648 declared himself at length in favour of the royal cause. Thus circumstanced, his next object is to come on terms with the confederate Catholics, he offers to conclude a peace with them and his conditions appear satisfactory, at least to the Supreme Council. As had been the case in the treaty with Ormond, the interest of the laity was abundantly consulted; the second and fourth articles were those in which the state of religion was embodied. By the second article it was agreed "that no confederate Catholic should suffer any injury in the free exercise of his religion so long as the said cessation should continue to be observed," and according to the fourth article, "the property in the actual possession as well of the clergy as of the laity was to remain in the same undisturbed state as it had been when the cessation commenced."† This treaty, although approved of by a considerable portion of the ecclesiastical body, was no less disagreeable to the Nuncio than the former: besides the insecurity on which it was placed, the interest of religion was far from being included in its provisions; and above all, it seemed by no means to correspond with the letter or spirit of the oath by which the confederates had bound themselves.

The division which this treaty had created throughout the confederate body was still more ruinous and deplorable than

* Philop. Iren. L. 1. c. 8.

† Id. L. 1. c. 9.

that which had arisen out of the cessation of 1646; among the great majority of the prelates it met with unqualified disapprobation. Early in the following April a declaration was published at Kilkenny, to which the signatures of fourteen prelates were attached, at the head of which stood the name of the Primate Hugh O'Reilly, Archbishop of Armagh. In this document they state, that after having examined the question with all its reasons and circumstances they are decidedly of opinion, that this cessation must inevitably tend to the overthrow of the Catholic religion in this kingdom.— They accordingly declare it to be an iniquitous treaty and by no means binding on the conscience of any individual. This declaration, notwithstanding the weight and respectability of its signatures, proved ineffectual. On the 7th of May, therefore, the Nuncio quitted Kilkenny and retired towards the West of Ireland; and on the 22nd the cessation was agreed to, ratified and published in the same city. The publication of this treaty was accompanied by a supplementary protest from the Supreme Council, in which they maintained that in all their proceedings they were guided by the direction of the general confederacy and by the exigency of existing circumstances: they likewise insinuated that the Nuncio was employing every means to create a division and at length involve the nation in one frightful scene of general ruin. Such was the state of affairs when the comminatory sentence of excommunication was affixed to the gates of the Cathedral of St. Canice in Kilkenny, against the theologians who had approved of the peace; and on the same day (27th of May, 1648,) the decree of excommunication (*lata sententia*,) was fulminated against the members of the Supreme Council and all those who should in any manner yield assent to the cessation.

Thus it was that one false step was followed by another still more imprudent: the censures of his Eminence were now generally looked upon with an eye of indifference and while

new breaches were effected and former ones left unrepaired, it was but natural to expect that such unwise proceedings should inevitably terminate in some general catastrophe.

Yet in many places these censures had been rigorously executed, and became at times an almost insurmountable obstacle to the contemplated movements of the Council against which they had been principally levelled. The dignitary, who seems to have given particular offence by his rigid enforcement of the interdict, was Patrick Comerford, Bishop of Waterford. He caused the churches to be closed all over his diocese, the divine offices as well as the sacred mysteries of the altar ceased to be publicly solemnized, while the people, thus deprived of spiritual consolation and exposed to the conflicting opinions of the day, were formed into various factions and occasionally allowed their feelings to carry them to a pitch of alarming excitement. The Supreme Council at length interposed and addressed a comminatory epistle to the Prelate, in which they respectfully objected to his proceedings, but assured him at the same time that unless he caused the churches to be opened and allowed the duties of the altar to be publicly celebrated, they should be reduced to the unwelcome necessity of taking into their own hands the full and uncontrolled possession of all his temporalities. This species of intimidation had but little effect on the mind of the unbending Prelate. In his reply to the Council, he assures them, that the step which he had taken had been the result of calm and mature consideration, that it had met the general concurrence of his clergy and that in executing the censure of the interdict he had done nothing more than what his conscience had coolly and imperatively dictated. "As to my temporal goods, (he observes,) the greater part of them are long since in the hands of our common enemy, while some of our own Catholic nobility hold possession of the greater portion of the remainder, as I have already proved by the

records of the income of my diocese which I have lately caused to be presented before your lordships."

The result of this correspondence has not been recorded, but it is certain that the Bishop of Waterford continued steadfast in his opposition to the treaty, and had been throughout the whole proceedings a zealous advocate in support of the measures of the Nuncio.*

On the following month the Supreme Council made an appeal against the validity of the censures, and at the same time circulars were directed to the prelates and clergy of Ireland, requesting their attendance at the forthcoming meeting of the confederate body and their respective answers to certain queries connected with the oath and proceedings of the Council.† Among the queries, the following were those to which the greatest importance seems to have been attached. First, whether any and what part of the cessation is injurious to the Catholic religion; and if so, does it become sufficient matter for issuing a sentence of excommunication? Secondly, whether it can be shewn that this excommunication and interdict are not repugnant to the laws of this realm as they stood in Catholic times? Thirdly, whether an appeal, made to Rome within the time specified by the canons, does not suspend both the excommunication and interdict together with all their direct and indirect consequences? Casuistry and scholastic decisions served now to fan the flame of discord among the clergy in the same manner as political opinions divided the laity in the council and in the camp. A treatise was published at Kilkenny by David Roth, Bishop of Ossory, containing an answer to the foregoing questions and defending those who maintained the invalidity of the censures. This work was confirmed by the authority of several distinguished theologians and among others by Thomas Dease, Bishop of Meath.‡

* Ex. Hist. M.S. Legationis Hibernicæ.

† Philop. Iren. L. 1. c. 10.

‡ Belling. Annotat. in Lib. Vindicis eversæ.

Thus did the spirit of discord make its way through every class, while that union by which alone the Catholic cause could expect to triumph was no where to be found. The learning together with the acknowledged patriotism of these Prelates had served to throw powerful weight on their opinions. David Roth, by his constant attendance at the Council, his solid and prudent decisions and the popularity of his writings in defence of the liberties of the nation, had long since become one of the most influential characters in the country. As a canonist the Bishop of Meath stood unrivalled; but the man who appears to have been a general favourite was Nicholas French, Bishop of Ferns. With the erudition of the scholar he combined the piety of the prelate and all the enthusiasm of the patriot: on many occasions of great national emergency his services were successfully tried and gratefully recorded in the recollections of his countrymen.

The decision, which these eminent men had pronounced on the question at issue, now became a favourite topic among all classes: a considerable number of the clergy had already supported it by their signatures; with the intelligent portion of the laity it was exceedingly popular. In this critical posture of affairs, a national synod was summoned by the Nuncio, the prelates are directed to assemble in the town of Galway, while against these proceedings the Supreme Council in terms of defiance enter their protest.* An indictment amounting to twenty charges having been drawn up against his Eminence, Father John Rowe, Provincial of the Carmelites, is despatched to the Pope, with directions to have it submitted to his Holiness, and at the same time the Speaker of the Council, Sir Richard Blake, gives notice to the Nuncio to quit the kingdom and proceed to Rome.† In the mean time every access to the town of Galway was cut off; the

* Philop. Iren. L. 1. c. 12.

† Carve, p. 348.

roads were blockaded with military and some of the ecclesiastics on their way to the synod were taken into custody and sent under an escort to Kilkenny. At this critical period Ormond arrives in Ireland, and on the 17th of January, 1649, the peace was ratified and published at a general meeting of the confederate assembly. Among the articles, thirty-five in number, were the following:* First, the Catholics of Ireland are exempt from the oath of supremacy and all penal laws are to be abrogated. Secondly, they are to continue in the quiet possession of all the cathedral churches and ecclesiastical property at present in their hands, until the pleasure of the King shall be declared on this point in the free assembly of the nation. Thirdly, all monastic establishments with the lands appertaining to them, provided they do not exceed a certain number of acres, are to be left now and for ever in the undisturbed possession of the religious. Fourthly, the free parliament, already expressed, is to be held within six months from the conclusion of this peace. Fifthly, the Catholics are bound to keep in arms a body of 15000 foot and 25000 cavalry, and to hold the undisturbed possession of all the cities, towns and forts which they now have in their hands, until all these terms shall be fully settled by parliament.

At this general convocation of the confederate body nine Catholic prelates attended, and upon the ratification of the peace the following circular was drawn up and ordered to be published throughout their respective dioceses:†

“Whereas the war, undertaken principally in the cause of religion, has gained for us throughout the world the name and character of an independent nation, in like manner, the peace which we now conclude with the King’s representative, and that at a time when his Majesty is in imminent danger, proves us to be a conscientious and a faithful people. Al-

* Carve, p. 349.—*Philo. Iren. L. 1. c. 17.*

† Cox, *Appen. p. 166.*

though during the various contingencies of this war, which has now been continued for seven years, we have invariably retained this fidelity and have confirmed the same by our oath, nevertheless we have not been free from misrepresentation. All this, however, is now set at rest by means of the present peace. We trust that our views on the subject of this treaty are such that ye will cordially receive it, and contending as ye are against traitors to heaven and to your King, there is every reason to hope that on such grounds your cause must be victorious."

Thus was the treaty at length concluded; but it was of no avail, for in twelve days after, on the 30th of January, 1649, Charles I ended his days on the scaffold, and both the throne and the altar became at once an easy prey to the fanaticism of the Puritans. As soon as the report of the King's death had reached Ireland the Nuncio resolved to continue no longer in the kingdom; accordingly on the 23rd of February he set sail from Galway, and after a tedious passage arrived safe in Normandy, from whence he repaired to Rome.— Upon what principles he defended himself against the accusations preferred against him has not been ascertained; it is, however, certain that the absolution from the censures was not obtained until the time of Pope Alexander VII (1665).*

The confederate Catholics, when too late, began to see the bad effects of their late dissensions: in a few weeks after they suffered a signal defeat at Rathmines, and in the August of the same year Cromwell lands in Ireland. The frightful carnage, which attended the arms of this usurper in Drogheda, Wexford and other places, does not come within the scope of this analysis; in the midst, however, of these awful scenes, the prelates with a number of other dignitaries proposed to hold a general synod on the 4th of December, at Clonmacnois. Such meetings became now unavailable: to

* Ware's Annals.

think of contending with the storm through the medium of synods, was little more than the expiring efforts of a tottering community; it served, however, to afford another illustration of the attachment of the Irish prelacy to their lawful monarch and of their solicitude for the security of the Catholic faith. Whatever might have been the motives which actuated the policy of Ormond, at this period, cannot be easily fathomed. Circulars were instantly directed from the Viceroy to each of the prelates: they were called upon to discontinue their sittings at Clonmacnois and to meet his Excellency on the 8th of the following March in the City of Limerick. A disappointment, which probably had not been anticipated by Ormond, rendered this intended convocation impossible. When the time specified in the circulars had arrived the gates of Limerick were closed, while the Mayor at the head of the inhabitants refused the Viceroy admission into the city. Thus circumstanced he recommends the prelates to adjourn to Loughrea, as a place most convenient for their deliberations. Accordingly two very numerous attended meetings were held in this town; the first on the 19th of March, and the second on the 25th of April, 1650. In the first of these, a general protest was drawn up in which the prelates proclaim their attachment to the Prince of Wales, now Charles II; they denounce the act of the regicides as sacrilegious and promise to employ all their influence in arraying the spirit of the nation against the enemies of both the altar and the throne.* In the second, John Burke, Archbishop of Tuam, and Sir Lucas Dillon are commissioned to proceed to Limerick for the purpose of prevailing on the citizens to receive a garrison and place themselves under the direction of the Viceroy. Such, however, was the implacable hatred which this brave people had entertained against the double dealing of Ormond that they refused to listen to any proposals; so that the agents returned to Loughrea without being able to effect an accommodation.

* Porter's Annal, p. 326.

It was expected that Charles II would have proceeded direct from France to Ireland; the King himself had already expressed his determination to adopt that course,* but with the Stuarts, resolutions and promises were mere empty sounds. Instead of sailing for Ireland Charles directed his course to Holland where he remained for a short time and thence repaired to Scotland. Having now placed himself in the hands of the very men who but some months before had conducted his father to the scaffold Charles renounces those very principles which he had hitherto openly avowed and violates all his former engagements. In the presence of the Scots nation—in the face of Europe he acknowledges the sin of his father in having entered into a matrimonial alliance with an idolatrous family; he condemns the peace which had been made with the Irish; denies having ever given his concurrence to the transaction and declares it to be of no effect.†

The Catholics of Ireland thus treacherously abandoned are now compelled to fly to those last resources which our common nature has wisely provided for the protection of man—they have recourse to arms; while the prelates and the great body of the clergy dissolved their meetings at Loughrea and appointed a national synod to be held on the 6th of August in the same year at the Franciscan Convent of James's-town in the County of Leitrim. In this synod the conduct of Ormond was deservedly censured: it is now discovered that he had directions from Charles I to grant to the Catholics the full extent of their demands at the time of the first treaty in 1643, he is recognized as the prominent cause of all the misfortunes that befel the throne and the kingdom, while two of their body, the Bishop of Dromore and the Dean of Tuam are deputed to wait on his Excellency and prevail on him to resign the government into the hands of some person already enjoying the confidence of the people.‡

* Carte, Vol. ii. p. 128.

† Leland, Vol. iii. p. 376.—Carte, Vol. ii. p. 129.

‡ Cox Append. 48. p. 178.

Ormond accordingly resigned the government of the country about the close of the year 1650, having first placed the seals of office in the hands of a nobleman of distinguished patriotism and popularity, Ulic Burke, Marquis of Clanrickard.*

The unprecedented success which attended the arms of Cromwell had now transformed the country into one frightful scene of carnage and desolation; villages became a mass of ruins, towns and cities were stormed and plundered, in short the kingdom from one extremity to the other assumed the awful appearance rather of a region of death than of a land intended by nature for the residence and happiness of human beings. The fury of the storm was particularly levelled against the altars and priesthood of the country. In rural districts as well as in cities and towns the churches were demolished, while the convents were converted into garrisons in which the troops of Cromwell and his followers were quartered. Meanwhile the clergy both secular and regular are compelled to take refuge in the inaccessible morasses of the country or amidst the rocks and caverns of the mountain.—Some there were whom Providence protected, but a still greater number became victims; having heroically laid down their lives in testimony of the faith of their fathers.†

When Ireton, Cromwell's successor, had stormed the City of Limerick, he caused the venerable Terence Albert O'Brien, Bishop of Emly, to be apprehended and brought before him. Bribes and threats were alternately held out; but the Prelate continued inflexible. With a view to overcome his resolution, Ireton gave directions to have him bound in chains and cast into prison. The dungeon, however, had no terrors for the martyr—his constancy rose superior to them all. He is at length sentenced to be brought forth and strangled in the public place of execution. When he arrived

* Carte, Vol. ii. p. 140.

† Porter's Annals, p. 400 et seq.

at the spot, the serenity and cheerfulness of his countenance drew sentiments of pity from his very executioners, while the people, many of whom had ventured to approach the place, were inconsolable: "Weep not for me, (rejoins the holy Prelate,) but rather pray that I may receive strength from the throne of mercy and thus happily end my course. Keep the faith—submit to the dispensations of heaven—dread the wrath of God—observe his commandments, and thus indeed shall ye possess your souls in peace." The martyr then turned to Ireton, and in language prophetically awful warned him to beware of the vengeance of heaven which was already impending over him; he assured him that his days were numbered, that a few weeks would terminate his career on this earth and that his end would be miserable.—This prediction of the martyr was literally verified: before three weeks had elapsed, Ireton died in Limerick of a plague accompanied with all the horrors of despair. The holy Prelate finished his course on the eve of All Saints, 1651: his head was afterwards set on a spike and placed on the top of the citadel, where it remained unchanged until after the period of Cromwell's usurpation.*

About the same time Boetius Egan, Bishop of Ross, was tortured and put to death by the directions of Ludlow who had been already engaged in storming that town. This Prelate, in the warmth of his charity, had ventured to make his way through the recesses of the neighbouring mountains for the purpose of administering the sacraments to the dying. On his return to the lonely retreat in which he had for months lain concealed, he was overtaken by a troop of Ludlow's cavalry. The renunciation of his faith, he was told, would secure not only his pardon but even the confidence of their General: bribes and promises were employed, but these were unavailable. He was accordingly given up to the fury of his

* O'Daly, *Relatio. Persecut.* p. 344.

executioners. His arms having been severed from his body, he was brought to a neighbouring tree, where he closed his happy career, being suspended from one of its branches by the reins of his horse.*

The heroic sufferings of Emer Mathew, Bishop of Clogher, are likewise honourably recorded in the annals of those times. This venerable Prelate, while in the discharge of his pastoral duties, fell into the hands of Coote, one of Cromwell's most strenuous supporters. After having been for several days exposed to the indignities of a licentious soldiery, the Prelate was at length conducted to Enniskillen, loaded with heavy irons and cast into a dungeon. Here he remained evincing the firmness of a martyr, while his enemies incessantly cried out for his blood. Sentence of death was accordingly pronounced: he was hanged and bowelled, his head being afterwards set on a spike and placed in the public market.†

While these frightful scenes were passing on, both in the North and in the South, the remaining prelates of the kingdom, shut up in the fastness of the forest or in the recesses of the mountain, had to endure privations still more insupportable than death itself. Many of them were sheltered by the vigilance of the faithful, some were recommended to reserve themselves for better days and look for that security in distant lands which it was now considered impossible to expect at home. Among the number of these heroic exiles, we find Nicholas French, the venerable Bishop of Ferns. Having with great difficulty found means of effecting his escape, he retired to the diocese of St. Jago in the North of Spain, where he was most affectionately received by the Archbishop of that See. From thence, after the lapse of some years, he repaired to Ghent in Flanders, in which city he died on the 23rd of August, 1678, and in the twenty-sixth year of his exile.‡

* Bruodin, p. 530.

† Id. p. 480.

‡ See Chap. iii.

Thomas Walsh, Archbishop of Cashel, after having for a long time escaped the fury of his pursuers, by remaining concealed in that wild range of mountains which run between the Counties of Tipperary and Cork, at length took shipping in one of the Southern ports of the latter County, and after a perilous voyage arrived at Compostella, a town in the province of Gallicia in Spain. Robert Barry, Bishop of Cork and Cloyne, together with Patrick Comerford, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, proceeded to Nantz, and were received with great kindness and respect by both the clergy and people of that City, Edmund O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick, and John Culenan, Bishop of Raphoe, took refuge in Brussels. Walter Lynch, Bishop of Clonfert, withdrew to Hungary. Edmund O'Dempsey, Bishop of Leighlin, retired to Gallicia. Francis Kirwan, Bishop of Killala, repaired to Rennes in Brittany. Hugh Burke, Bishop of Kilmacduagh, was sheltered by his friends in England. Andrew Lynch, Bishop of Kilfenora, found an asylum in Normandy, under the auspices of the illustrious Primate Francis de Harlai. Arthur Magennis, the venerable Bishop of Down, after having been tossed about by storms for many days and in consequence of his advanced age being but badly calculated to endure such hardship, was at length seized with a violent fever and died on sea.*

In this manner did the tempest unabated roll over the Church of Ireland: nor were the prelates of the kingdom its only victims. The Irish priesthood had been long since proscribed in the councils of the regicides; hence the clergy of all ranks and of every order were alike involved in the same sweeping sentence of universal extermination. Among the garrisons and fortified parts of the kingdom which appear to have offered the most formidable resistance to the progress of Cromwell, the town of Wexford has been distinctly noticed

* Elenchus Episcop. a Nichol. Fernensi. Bruodin, passio Martyrum.

by all our historians both ancient and modern. By means of the treachery of Stafford, Wexford however was at length stormed; an infuriated soldiery poured into its gates: Cromwell had previously given orders for a general massacre, while in the frightful carnage which ensued, both clergy and people indiscriminately perished. From the body of the clergy at that time residing at Wexford, six priests, members of the Franciscan order, were selected, upon whom, in a particular manner, the regicides appear to have exhausted the whole fury of their vengeance. The names of these devoted victims were, Richard Sinnott, *Custos* of the province and formerly Guardian of St. Isodore's College at Rome; Paul Sinnott, for many years employed in Barbary as Legate from the Pope; Francis Stafford, Guardian of the Convent of Wexford; John Esmond, lately Guardian of the same Convent; Peter Stafford, a man of distinguished eloquence, peculiar meekness of manners and wonderful austerity of life; and Hamond Stafford, who, after having for many years presided over the Convent of Wexford, at length withdrew from the society of man and led the penitential life of an anchorite on Beg- Erin, a lonely, desolate island lying within view of the town of Wexford.* These religious ecclesiastics, having for several days endured a variety of indignities in the common prison, were all brought out and executed together; in their sufferings evincing the firmness and resignation of martyrs and by their death proclaiming, in the face of their enemies, the triumphant and everlasting truths of the Catholic faith.

While these scenes of horror had been perpetrated in Wexford, others of a similarly awful description were witnessed in Cork, Clonmel, Limerick, Drogheda, and other parts of the kingdom. Before the close of the year 1649, the whole County of Cork was overrun, pillaged, and seemingly de-

* Walsh's Hist. of Irish Remon. part II. p. 585.

populated.* What Cromwell had left undone was completed by Ludlow. In that year *ÆNEAS O'CAHILL*, a priest of the order of Preachers and highly esteemed for his learning, eloquence and sanctity of life, fell into the hands of the Puritans. This good priest, anxious to impart the consolations of religion to his afflicted countrymen, had embraced the resolution of visiting those mountainous parts of the country in which great numbers of the people had already taken shelter from the fury of the persecution. While pursuing his journey, he was overtaken by a party of Ludlow's troops, and having fearlessly acknowledged himself a Catholic priest he was instantly assailed on all sides and left a mangled victim on the highway. Not content with this unprovoked barbarity, they seized the bleeding carcass, severed it limb from limb, and left the fragments to be scattered by the winds of heaven.†

When the forces of Cromwell had been on their way to storm Clonmel, *JAMES O'REILLY*, a young ecclesiastic of that town, having been admonished to provide for his safety by taking refuge among his friends in Waterford, complied with the advice and proceeded along the bye-ways of the country. Being, however, unacquainted with the roads, he lost his way and fell into the hands of his enemies. This ecclesiastic, after frankly acknowledging his sacred profession, was put to death and mangled in the same manner as *Æneas O'Cahill* had been in the County of Cork.‡

During the siege of Clonmel, *NICHOLAS MULCAHY*, Parish Priest of Ardfinnan in the County of Tipperary, a man of extraordinary zeal, was seized upon by a reconnoitering party of Cromwell's horse. He had been frequently advised to fly from the storm, but his affectionate solicitude for the people rose superior to every counsel. He was bound in irons, conducted to the camp of the besiegers and offered his pardon,

* Crawford's Ireland, An. 1649. † O' Daly, Relatio. Persecut. Hib. p. 358. ‡ Id.

provided he would but use his influence in prevailing on the inhabitants of Clonmel to surrender the town. These terms being rejected; he was brought under the walls and by a general order was beheaded while in the act of praying for his flock and forgiving his enemies.*

MILES MAGRATH, of the Order of Preachers and a member of the Convent of Clonmel, underwent an ordeal of sufferings and was put to death in the same town, not many days after. This excellent priest, anxious to attend the sick, had returned to Clonmel soon after the siege. Having celebrated the divine mysteries and being in the act of attending a dying person, he was taken into custody, then put on the rack and at length suspended from a gibbet by the orders of one of Cromwell's satellites, who at that time had the command of the garrison.†

JAMES LYNCH, Parish Priest of Kells in the County of Meath and RICHARD NUGENT, Parish Priest of Ratoath in the same County, were both put to the torture and died on the same day in defence of their faith. The former, a venerable old man, nearly eighty years of age, was massacred in his bed, to which he had, through infirmity, been for a long time confined. The latter was sent under an escort to Drogheda, and a gibbet having been erected within sight of the walls, he ended his course with that Christian firmness, which confounded his enemies and drew forth the tears and benedictions of his disconsolate friends.‡

DOMINICK DILLON and RICHARD O'VETON, ecclesiastics of great eminence in Drogheda, suffered death in testimony of their religion, the very day on which that town had been stormed by the Puritans. They were conducted into the centre of the camp, and while in the act of raising their hands to heaven and proclaiming the truths of the Catholic faith, they were both beheaded.§

* Append. V. ap. Bruodin.

† Append. ap. Bruodin.

‡ O'Daly, p. 324.

§ O'Daly, p. 356.

JAMES WOLFFE and JOHN COLLINS, of the Order of Preachers, both natives of Limerick and members of the Dominican Convent in that City, became victims to the fury of the regicides about the close of the year 1651. The zeal and unaffected piety of the latter had endeared him to his friends—his valour and patriotism had rendered him the terror of his enemies. At length, however, he fell into their hands, and on the scaffold evinced the same resignation and fortitude for which during life he had been so celebrated. The former, filled with compassion for the sufferings of the people, had ventured to make his way into Limerick, after that City had been forced to surrender to Ireton. The vigilance of his persecutors could not, however, be long evaded: when this zealous missionary had been for about eight days employed in administering the sacraments to the dying and while offering up the sacred mysteries, he was arrested, brought before the governor of the city and sentenced to be executed in the public market. His very executioners being filled with amazement at the fortitude—the Christian heroism with which he suffered.*

These few illustrious sufferers have been selected from the almost countless catalogue which the historians of those times have left on record; a distinct and circumstantial account of all would require volumes.† On the 6th of January, 1653,

* O'Daly, p. 353.

† Subjoined are the names of the priests, Secular and Regular, who were during this year confined as prisoners in the Island of Bofin or shut up in the gaols of Cork and Galway. Rev. James Fallen, V.G.; Rev. Roger Commis, Secular priest; Rev. Gerald Davock, Dominican; Rev. Brien Cony, Franciscan; Rev. Thomas Bourke, Franciscan; Rev. Philip Walshe, Secular priest; Rev. Thomas Grady, Secular priest; Rev. Timothy Mannin, Secular priest; Rev. Miles Tully, Secular priest; Rev. Patrick Trevor, Secular priest; Rev. John Kelly, Secular priest; Rev. M^cLeighlin Conry, Secular priest; Rev. Anthony Geoghegan, Abbot; Rev. John Dillon, Dominican; Rev. Thomas M^cKernan, Franciscan; Rev. Edward Delamar, Secular priest; Rev. Terlagh Gavan, Secular priest; Rev. John Russell, V.G.; Rev. William Henesy, Secular priest; Rev. William Farrell, Secular priest; Rev. Redmond Roche, Secular priest; Rev. Conner Keilly, Secular

the first edict emanated from the commissioners appointed by the republican parliament for managing the affairs of Ireland; it was instantly published throughout all the cities, towns, villages and parishes of the kingdom. By this edict the exterminating statute passed in the 27th of Elizabeth was revived; twenty-eight days are allowed for the departure of all priests from the kingdom, but after that period should any priest be detected in the country, "he incurs (says the statute) the guilt of high treason—he is therefore to be hanged, cut down while alive, beheaded, quartered, bowelled and burned; the head to be set on a spike and exposed in the most public place—moreover should any person entertain or harbour a priest, he shall suffer the confiscation of his property and be put to death without the hope of mercy."* Every exercise of the Catholic religion, even in private, was now held and declared a capital offence; spies and informers were to be seen in all directions scouring the country, a reward of five pounds was to be given for the apprehension of a priest, together with one-third part of the property of the person in whose house he shall be discovered.† These informers were likewise by virtue of the edict to be promoted to offices and dignities, as men who deserved well of the state.‡ To this instrument of refined cruelty, the following supplement was soon after annexed. "And if any one shall

priest; Rev. Dennis Horgan, Secular priest; Rev. Henry Burgat, Dominican; Rev. Timothy Donovan, Franciscan; Rev. Connor Hurly, Franciscan; Rev. James Slevin, Franciscan; Rev. Thomas Rooney, Franciscan; Rev. Connor Scanlan, Franciscan; Rev. Bernard Comins, Dominican; Rev. Bonaventure Dant, Secular priest; Rev. Thomas Burke, Secular priest; Rev. Francis Horan, Secular priest; Rev. Thomas Mac-Kernan, Secular priest; Rev. Terence Gavan, Secular priest; Rev. Hugh M'Keon, Secular priest. "Ex Libro Archivii Provincialis Collegii Lovaniensis, S. Antonii de Padua, Fr. Min. Hibernorum."

* O'Daly, p. 375.

† The same reward (namely £5) was in those times offered for the head of a priest and that of a wolf—hence the clergy were hunted and pursued with the same avidity as the very beasts of the field.

‡ Morisson—Threnodia, Hiberno Catholica, p. 27.

know where a priest remains concealed, in caves, woods or caverns, or if, by any chance, he should meet a priest on the highway and not immediately take him into custody and present him before the next magistrate, such person is to be considered a traitor and an enemy to the republic. He is accordingly to be cast into prison, flogged through the public streets and afterwards have his ears cut off. But should it appear that he kept up any correspondence or friendship with a priest, he is to suffer death."*

This deadly persecution, for which we can find no parallel in the whole annals of tyranny, was considered still incomplete. The climax was wanted, but was soon supplied by the oath of abjuration, which all who had attained the age of twenty were now under severe penalties obliged to take.†

Thus was Ireland, once a religious, enlightened and a far-famed nation, torn, outraged and trampled upon; her priesthood put to the sword—her nobility dispersed—her people exiled—liberty annihilated—learning proscribed—religion insulted—what the sanctity of ancient times had consecrated, modern impiety has now defiled—what nature so bountifully blessed, the unfeeling despot has covered with torrents of tears and blood.

Notwithstanding the threats and edicts, the commissioners and informers, the gibbets and terrors that had for so many years been employed to overawe the nation and strip it of its faith, still the ancient religion of the country flourished as lively as ever in the hearts and affections of the people. Nor did they succeed in their scheme of extermination; numbers, no doubt, were swept away, but vast multitudes still remained shut up in the towns and villages or scattered in countless thousands over the face of the country. This it was which filled their enemies with redoubled fury and at length sug-

* Morisson, *Threnodia. Hiberno. Catholica*, p. 27.

† Morisson, p. 31.—Bruodin, p. 95.

gested the infernal design of converting the whole province of Connaught into one frightful, national prison. In the year 1654, and on a given day, specified by the edict, every Catholic in the kingdom, without distinction of rank, age, or sex, was ordered to repair to Connaught. Around this province, which from famine and the sword had now become a desolate waste, certain boundaries were marked out, and within these precincts were the wretched Catholics of Ireland enclosed, without food, raiment, or shelter; friendless, hopeless and unpitied. No pen can describe or mind conceive the frightful scenes of misery that now ensued. It was death to step beyond the limits; a Catholic found in any other part of the kingdom could (according to the laws of the regicides,) be butchered by any private individual without jury or judge or magistrate. Famine, pestilence and despair now set in; one thousand perished of hunger and disease; many (says a contemporary writer,*) cast themselves from rocks and promontories; numbers flung themselves into whirlpools and rivers; on one side they were repelled by the sea, on the other they were hemmed in by the sword of the slaughterer, while within the plantation of Connaught itself, were to be seen the barren rocks, the walking spectres and those other innumerable calamities that usually compose the awful train of the contemptible bigot, the usurper and the tyrant.

Such was the deplorable condition of the Catholics of Ireland until the year 1658, when Comwell was summoned before the tribunal of an eternal Judge. On the 3rd of September in that year, the earthly career of this monster terminated; an event long and ardently wished for by all humane and upright men; to his persecuted victims it afforded unspeakable delight.

The experience of the preceding nine years had now wrought its natural effect. The national mind, long since

* Morisson, p. 19, et seq.

disgusted with scenes of private misery and of social derangement, became loud in its demand for the restoration of monarchy; the republicans, cut up as they had been into sections and parties, now began to give way; and accordingly in 1660, Charles II set out from Belgium, made his public entry into London and was soon after crowned amidst the heartfelt joy of the whole kingdom.

It has been asserted by some writers that Charles, on his accession to the throne, had declared himself favourable to the wishes of the Catholics of Ireland: this statement, although a gratuitous one, may be true, yet both the past and the subsequent conduct of Charles must suffice to render it doubtful. In the very commencement of his reign the act of settlement was brought before the consideration of parliament.* By this act 2,700,000 acres, the property of the ancient Catholic families of the country, were confiscated and divided in lots among the soldiers of Cromwell, outcast puritan vagrants, whose hearts and hands were still stained with the blood of his father.†

The injustice of these proceedings was now aggravated by a renewal of all the old calumnies so frequently advanced but as often refuted. Their religious principles were incompatible with the safety of the crown; their engagements were not to be depended upon; they entered into treaties the most solemn, but they broke them at pleasure; they were Nuncios, Renuccinis, dissemblers and traitors. To vindicate themselves and their religion from those foul and malicious imputations, the clergy and the Catholic gentry of Ireland were warmly advised by many of their friends, both in this country and in England, to prepare a satisfactory but respectful remonstrance and cause it to be presented to his Majesty

* Leland, Vol. III.

† Carte, Vol. II.—Of these spoils, 130,000 acres were allotted to Ormond; by which means his income, which hitherto had been £7,000, was now swelled to the enormous sum of £80,000 per annum.—Petty's Political Anatomy, p. 2.

with as much expedition as possible. This friendly suggestion, although approved of by all, could not, from the peculiar circumstances of the times, be carried into effect until about the close of the year 1661. At that time three Catholic gentlemen residing in Dublin, Sir Richard Barnwall, Richard Belling and Thomas Tyrrel, together with Oliver Dease, Vicar General of Meath and Father James Fitzsimons, Guardian of the Franciscans at Dublin, found an opportunity of consulting together, and the remonstrance already alluded to was agreed upon.* It was proposed that Richard Belling who had in 1644, been appointed the acting secretary of the supreme council, should prepare the draught of this remonstrance; that it should exhibit an accurate statement of their religious principles as well as a refutation of the calumnies which had been so unjustly heaped upon them; and that as the clergy were the persons against whom these attacks had been principally levelled, the remonstrance should, on that account, be in perfect accordance with their opinions and be distinctly set forth in their name. This document was accordingly executed; however, that portion of it, which referred to the temporal authority of the Pope, was no more than a literal transcript of the printed declaration of the Catholics of England, drawn up by Father Cressy, an English Benedictine, and presented to Charles I at Westminster about the year 1640.† Singular as it may appear, the remonstrance, when fully prepared, was instantly transmitted to London, without having at the time obtained the signature of a single prelate or of any of the Catholic clergy of the kingdom. Circumstances, it is true, had

* Walsh's Hist. of Remon. Treatise I. p. 6.

† See this Remonstrance in Appendix I.—This learned ecclesiastic was for some years Protestant Dean of the Diocese of Leighlin, but having renounced Protestantism he soon after published his *Exomologesis*, in which he presents an ample and satisfactory statement of the reasons which induced him to embrace the Catholic faith.

rendered it impossible to collect the united sentiments of the prelacy; our bishops, compelled like the Fathers of primitive days to yield to the storm, were now scattered, wandering exiles through the different nations of Europe: out of the twenty-eight prelates, who composed the hierarchy of Ireland in 1650, only three are to be found in the whole kingdom at the time of which we are now treating.* Whatever might have been the motives which influenced the individuals with whom this remonstrance originated, whether it had been the necessity of despatch, the exigency of the times or the impossibility of consulting the clergy, certain it is that it had been forwarded in the state already described and committed to the management of Father Peter Walsh, at that time residing in London as the procurator or accredited agent of the Catholics of Ireland.

PETER WALSH was a native of Moortown in the County of Kildare, and about the year 1630 retired to the Convent of St. Anthony at Louvain, where he embraced the Franciscan institute and completed his studies with great applause. During his ecclesiastical course he became acquainted with Jansenius, at that time Doctor of the University of Louvain and Bishop elect of Ipres, to whom he dedicated his philosophical Thesis, but to whose subsequent doctrines on grace he never, it appears, had given his support or assent.† On his return to Ireland he was appointed to the Franciscan Convent of Kilkenny. Here he was employed for many years as public lecturer of divinity and was at length introduced to the notice of Ormond by means of the unremitted and overheated zeal with which he opposed the proceedings and censures of the Nuncio. Peter Walsh was certainly en-

* The only Prelates at this time in Ireland were Edmund O'Reilly, Archbishop of Armagh; Anthony Mac Geoghegan, Bishop of Meath; and Owen Mac Sweeny, Bishop of Kilmore. This last Prelate through age and infirmity was confined to his house.

† Hist. Remonst. Treatise iv. p. 75.

dowed with very considerable abilities and appears to have been well versed in the general ecclesiastical literature of those times. Being naturally bold, impetuous and enterprising, his ambition impelled him to aspire to the episcopacy, but the means which he employed were unbecoming the Christian; they were certainly unworthy the scholar and the man. While his country was oppressed and plundered, he took shelter under the patronage of its avowed enemies: he was the warm advocate, the time-serving creature of Ormond, with whose duplicity and implacable hatred to the Catholic name he must have been perfectly well acquainted. Owing to the circumstances of the times and the influence which he possessed, he was in 1660 appointed by the Primate, Edmund O'Reilly and others, as procurator or general agent of the Catholics of Ireland, and in that capacity he resided in London at the time the document already mentioned had been committed to his care.

The remonstrance being thus placed in the hands of the agent was soon after presented by him to some of the leading members of the cabinet; but being an anonymous, unauthenticated document, it was immediately returned with a recommendation to have it signed as speedily as possible by the Catholic prelates, nobility and clergy of the whole kingdom. Out of thirty expatriated Irish priests then residing in London, twenty-four readily affixed their signatures to it, together with Oliver Darcy, Bishop of Dromore; the remaining six refused their assent, alleging that the language employed in the memorial was not sufficiently respectful to the holy See.* In Ireland, the remonstrance met with a most unfavourable reception: as soon as it had appeared one general outcry was raised against it in almost every diocese of the kingdom; the doctrine which it contained was considered dangerous, false and already censured by the Church;

* Hist. Remon. Treatise i. p. 9.

it was rejected by some with as much abhorrence as the oath of supremacy and condemned by all for the intemperate and disrespectful terms which pervaded its entire composition.

While doubts and difficulties had been thus raised on the part of the clergy, the Catholic nobility and gentry of Ireland appeared to have been placed altogether beyond the influence of such scruples. Early in the year 1662, a numerous meeting of the nobility took place at the house of Lord Clanrickard in Dublin, the remonstrance was produced, approved of and signed by the following noblemen: Lords Castlehaven, Clancarthy, Carlingford, Mountgarret, Brittas, Fingall, Tircconnell, Galmoy, Slane, Gormanstown and Clanrickard. It was soon after signed by a considerable number of the gentry and by upwards of two hundred of the principal inhabitants of the County and Town of Wexford.*

Ormond had scarcely entered on his administration when Peter Walsh arrived in Ireland; his presence, however, tended only to supply fresh vigour to the already avowed opposition of the clergy. The mischievous policy of Ormond produced similar effects among the laity. Under pretence of defeating an alleged plot of the Puritans, the City of Dublin was filled with arms; churches and places of worship were closed, priests were apprehended and cast into prison, even the very chapel in which Father Walsh was officiating was attacked by the military on St. Stephen's day, many were wounded and the clergy attached to the Convent were taken into custody. To complete the odium of these proceedings and create in the public mind a still stronger aversion to the remonstrance, the Primate, Edmund O'Reilly, was most unwarrantably accused of having acted in concert with Jones, one of the leaders of the Puritan party, and compelled to quit the kingdom. The letters also and official documents which reached Ireland from Brussels, Rome and other

* Hist. Remon. p. 96.

quarters had now served to render the anti-remonstrants still more determined in their opposition. In July, 1662, the Internuncio, Hieronimus de Vecchiis addressed an admonitory epistle to the Bishop of Dromore, to Father Bonaventure Brodin and other ecclesiastics, in which he strongly denounces the remonstrance, observing that it contained propositions similar to those long since condemned by Paul V and lately by Innocent X; that the present formula of allegiance had, in various consistories, been deservedly censured and that, if persevered in, it would in all probability be more injurious to the Church than all the persecutions which had been levelled against it.* This letter was accompanied by another on the 8th of the same month, addressed to the nobility and gentry of Ireland and written by Cardinal Francis Barbarine in the name of the whole congregation of *Propaganda*, of which he was President. As this document was one of the principal authorities on which the opposition of the anti-remonstrants was grounded, it may not be deemed improper to give it insertion in this place and present it to the reader in a fair, literal translation.

“To the Noblemen of Ireland—If the most holy and affectionate Father of the faithful hath, at any time, reason to grieve for the lamentable condition of your affairs, it certainly is the present, when he beholds you threatened with ruin not alone from external enemies but even from your very domestics, nay more from your very brethren. For the evil now approaches not from the North alone; the destructive wind at length blows from that very quarter whence the gentle breathings of the Gospel should have come. Those who should be the disciples of truth are now become the masters of error, and to show fidelity to their king they destroy faith. In their proceedings, however, it must be principally noticed, that they published a protestation (of allegiance,) in such

* Hist. Remon. p. 16.

terms, that they may be said to have violated the Catholic faith and gained nothing on earth which they might not have obtained, that very faith remaining entire. For who shall dare deny that by the Catholic faith due obedience to princes is cherished, whereas by the precept of the Gospel every man is bound to yield to Cæsar what is Cæsar's and to God what belongs to God? When, therefore, these persons declare fidelity to their prince, they speak the language which is consonant to the faith which they profess: but what excuse can they advance, who in testifying their allegiance to a monarch have thought proper to subscribe their names to certain propositions already condemned by the apostolic see? What discredit must it not bring on the ecclesiastical order when men become the leaders of errors who should by their ministry be the instructors of mankind? It hath indeed grieved the soul of the most holy Pontiff to behold the unsavoury salt pouring forth its exhalations and to witness those who should enlighten others, bringing darkness and death on themselves. Wherefore, let those who have not yet subscribed this formula be cautious lest they be drawn into the pit by foolish leaders; let them hold the doctrine pure, sound and entire. Who stands, let him take heed lest he fall. But as to those who have unhappily fallen, let them rise without delay and recognize that right hand which their most holy and affectionate Father holds forth in admonishing them.— Finally let all of you, united in the bond of peace, yield that respect and duty to your King, which true faith teaches. In the mean time, I earnestly pray that all things may be prosperous to you, and in the name of that Congregation appointed to superintend your affairs I exhort you to cherish that heroic, unshaken constancy which you have hitherto so nobly manifested in defending the purity of your holy religion. Be convinced, likewise, that the Catholics of Ireland are beloved by our most holy Father in the bowels of Christ, and that his Holiness is from his whole heart and out

of that charity which is from God possessed with the most affectionate desire for the health and tranquillity of you all. Given at Rome, 8th of July, 1662.* Signed Francis Barbarine."

Notwithstanding the powerful efforts which had been made by Peter Walsh, Father Caron and others, the cause of the remonstrants made but very slow advances; if station, dignity and numbers be considered, they were left in a most discouraging minority. The number of priests residing in Ireland, in 1665, amounted to about two thousand, of which number twelve hundred were secular priests and about eight hundred regulars of different religious orders.† Out of this entire body only sixty-nine had signed the remonstrance.‡ There were but three Catholic bishops at the same period in the whole kingdom; the aged and venerable John Burke, Archbishop of Tuam, who having been sixteen years an exile had just then returned from the Continent, intending (as he himself expresses it,) to have his ashes laid in the tomb of his fathers; Patrick Plunket, Bishop of Ardagh, who arrived in the same year, and the infirm, suffering, saintly Bishop of Kilmore, Owen Mac Sweeny.§ The remaining diocesses of Ireland were governed by Vicars General and Capitular; men unexceptionably opposed to the diction of the same formula. The plan of convening a national synod had been long since contemplated by the remonstrant party; it was warmly encouraged by Ormond with a view of creating a still greater division among the clergy and of confirming the charges which he had already advanced against their principles. For

* Hist. Remon. p. 17.

† The number of Franciscans in Ireland in 1665, amounted to 400; of Dominicans 203; Augustinians 100; Jesuits, Carmelites and Capuchins, in all, 100. There were some few Cistercians and Canons Regular of St. Augustin, dispersed in the large towns and employed in the parishes as curates and parish priests.—Hist. Remon. Part ii. Treatise i. p. 575.

‡ Hist. Remon. p. 47.

§ Id. p. 573.

this purpose Father Peter Walsh was selected as the advocate of the original remonstrance; to the generality of the clergy, however, the intended synod appeared unnecessary and dangerous.

At length on the 18th of November, 1665, and in a private conference held at the agent's residence, the convocation of the synod was determined upon; the Bishop of Ardagh and the Vicars General of Armagh, Dublin and Meath, acting on that occasion as the representatives of the general body of the clergy. Having first obtained an assurance of protection from Ormond, it was agreed that an *Indiction* or letter of notice should be instantly drawn up and a copy of it carefully despatched to the several dignitaries of the kingdom, secular and regular.*

It was then arranged and specified in the circulars that ten ecclesiastics should be sent to the synod as representatives from each province, together with the provincials of the different orders, to whom a privilege was granted of bringing each two divines or canonists. Finally, the day appointed for the opening of the synod was the 11th of June, 1666, and the place in which they were to assemble was the residence of the Parish Priest of St. Audoen's, Dublin.

On the day specified in the circulars the Synod was opened and continued its sittings for fifteen days successively; Andrew Lynch, Bishop of Kilfenora (who had but a few months before returned from exile) being with one voice appointed chairman, and Nicholas Redmond, Vicar General

* The names of these dignitaries are:—

Patrick Daly, Vicar General of Armagh and exercising at that time Metropolitan jurisdiction over the whole province; James Dempsey, Vicar Apostolic of Dublin and Capitular of Kildare, enjoying likewise Metropolitan jurisdiction over the province of Leinster; John Burke, Vicar Apostolic of Cashel; Anthony Dogharty, Minister Provincial of the Franciscans; John O'Hart, Prior Provincial of the Dominicans; Stephen Lynch, Prior Provincial of the Augustinians; A. Saul, Superior Provincial of the Jesuits; Thomas Dillon, Prior Provincial of the Discalced Carmelites; Gregory Mulchonry, Commissary of the mission of the Capuchins; and Bartholomew Fitzgerald, Abbot of the Cistercians.

of Ferns, acting as secretary. The two first days were occupied in the discussion of some disciplinary arrangements connected with the general interest of the Irish Church: on the third day Father Walsh introduces the main subject which had brought them together, the important question of the Remonstrance. His speech, which occupied nearly three hours, went to shew that there was nothing contained in the substance of the remonstrance which could by a fair construction be declared contrary either to Catholic faith or morals, and in particular that the Pope had no power over the temporalities of any prince.* His arguments were generally admitted, yet when applied to the remonstrance in question, with its supposed ambiguous and disrespectful language, they became unavailable. He was heard throughout with profound attention, but the concurrence of the Synod could not be obtained. On the evening of that day, the Primate Edmund O'Reilly landed in Dublin after an absence of four years. His arrival and the letters with which he had been entrusted from the Internuncio Rospigliosi, Martin, Bishop of Ipres and others served to confirm the previous resolutions of the clergy and to decide the fate of the remonstrance. Besides the formula of allegiance, which in reality was the proposed subject of discussion, Ormond, by the agency of his party, had contrived to introduce, for the acceptance of the Synod, six scholastic propositions already sanctioned by the faculty of the Sorbonne. By three of these propositions, the temporal authority of the Pope over states or princes was not acknowledged; the remaining three amounted to a rejection of certain scholastic doctrines relative to his individual infallibility and superiority over œcumenical councils, and were clearly irrelevant to the subject, for the discussion of which the Synod had been convened. The mischievous views of the party were now distinctly seen and acknowledged by all:

* Hist. Rem. ii. part i. p. 575.

dissention and insult were among the objects proposed by the introduction of such questions; the wisdom, however, and firmness of the clergy prevented the possibility of these expected consequences. On the sixth day the Synod came to an unanimous determination of formally rejecting the original remonstrance of 1661; a committee was appointed and a new protestation of allegiance was drawn up, which embodied all the principles of fidelity contained in the former remonstrance, omitting at the same time those expressions which had been generally considered either ambiguous or disrespectful.* The first three of the Sorbonne declarations were received and signed, the remaining ones, not being connected with the proceedings of the assembly, were very properly omitted.

As soon as this new protestation of loyalty had received the signatures of the entire body, it was intrusted to the care of the Bishops of Kilfenora and Ardagh, together with the following resolutions or transcript copy of the Sorbonne declarations already admitted and sanctioned.†

I. "We the undersigned do hereby declare, that it is not our doctrine, that the Pope hath any authority in temporal affairs over our Sovereign Lord, King Charles II; yea, we promise that we will still oppose those who shall assume any power, either direct or indirect, over him in civil or temporal affairs.

II. "That it is our doctrine, that our gracious King, Charles II, is so independent, that he doth not acknowledge, nor hath he in civil and temporal affairs any power above him under God; and this to be our constant doctrine, from which we shall never recede.

III. "That it is our doctrine, that we subjects owe so natural and just obedience unto our King, that no power, under any pretext whatever, can either dispense with or free us from the same."

* For this Remonstrance see Appendix II.

† Hist. Rem. ii. part, p. 694.

The prelates, in whose hands these resolutions and the approved remonstrance had been placed, lost no time in executing their commission; that same day, they waited on Ormond at the castle, presented both these documents, but were received unceremoniously and dismissed with a cool, indifferent assurance, "that after he had read and considered on their papers, they should hear further from him."*

The Fathers of the national congregation had now placed in the hands of Ormond a Remonstrance as ample as that of 1661; the objectionable passages, which had been omitted, were sufficiently supplied by the first three of the Sorbonne declarations, while the reasons already assigned for not noticing the remaining three should have removed from the mind of a dispassionate man every ground of cavil or dissatisfaction. On the following Monday, being the 25th of June and the 15th day of their meeting, Peter Walsh, by directions from Ormond, commands the chairman to dissolve the Synod and retire from Dublin; observing at the same time—"that neither their remonstrance or resolutions had offered the least satisfaction to his Excellency."

The resentment of Ormond was now inflamed in proportion to the success with which his measures had been defeated. He renews all his former charges against the toleration of Catholic principles, and represents them as inconsistent with the safety of the state. For the purpose of affording additional weight to these accusations the Valesian Remonstrance of 1661 is evoked; it was represented as a summary of all the real, constitutional principles of allegiance; but it was denounced by the internuncio at Brussels, it was condemned at Rome and was finally rejected by the whole body of the Irish clergy assembled at Dublin. While these attempts had been made to prejudice the public mind and to exhibit the principles of Catholicity in a light odious to his Majesty,

* Hist. Rem. ii. part, p. 682.

silence the most profound and treacherous was observed on the subject of the clerical remonstrance and resolutions agreed upon by the late synod; they were cushioned, and with them disappeared both the flattering promises of a deceitful Viceroy and all the long cherished expectations of the Catholics of Ireland.

Peter Walsh finding that he had, by his factious opposition, already forfeited every claim to those distinctions which at one period of his ambitious career he so ardently desired, was now compelled to rely partly on the generosity of Ormond and occasionally on the fruits of his own literary labours. His writings as well as his speeches on the question of the Remonstrance were too pointed and were for the most part exhausted on subjects already understood and readily admitted by all parties: among his contemporaries he had advocates, but it must be recollected that he had still a considerably greater number of opponents; and whatever might be the general decision of posterity on the propriety of the Remonstrance, it must be admitted that his subsequent productions betrayed an actual perversity of intention and were justly censured as rash, erroneous, dangerous and even schismatical. In justice, however, to the memory of this unquestionably learned man, whose public life and opinions have called forth the animadversions of both ancient and modern writers but whose acts of atonement have been passed over in silence, we shall now present to the reader an authentic document, containing the solemn retraction of Father Peter Walsh—his condemnation of all the errors contained in his writings and his unqualified submission to the voice, decision and authority of the Supreme head of the Catholic Church. This retraction was made before competent witnesses whose names are subjoined, and is to the following effect.

“I, Fr. Peter Walsh, Lector of Sacred Theology and Priest of the Order of St. Francis, of the strict observance, of the province of Ireland, do, before God and witnesses

called together for this purpose, submit and most deliberately subject all and whatever books I have ever written or published in any language, to the examination and judgment of the Holy Roman Catholic Church and of the Vicar of Christ on earth, the Roman Pontiff; and from henceforth I retract, condemn, annul and reject whatever may, in these writings, be found either erroneous, or scandalous, or injurious to the Catholic faith, to sound doctrine, to good morals or to any individuals. I promise moreover that, should health and strength permit, I will to the utmost of my power both expressly and from my inward feelings retract all those and every thing which in these my aforesaid works and published writings may be deemed necessary either to be condemned or suppressed, and that I will always and in all things submit my own private judgment to that of the Church, which I now in truth and reality do, as an humble and obedient child of the Church and of the Seraphic Order. In testimony whereof I have hereby before witnesses subscribed this 13th day of March, 1688, (new style.)

“JOSEPH FRANCIS GENETTI,
 “PATER FR. ANTHONY M‘CARTHY,
 “PR. FR. JOHN EVERARD,
 “PR. FR. FRANCIS FORSTALL.”

This document, taken from a book of the archives of St. Anthony's College at Louvain, has been faithfully preserved and may be seen in the library of the Franciscan Convent at Wexford: as an interesting remnant of antiquity we now give it in the original words. “Ego Frater Petrus Valesius, S. Theologiæ Lector et Sacerdos ordinis S. Francisci, Strictioris Observantiæ, provinciæ Hiberniæ adscriptus, submitto coram Deo et testibus ad hoc vocatis, et sub jectio ex animo omnes et quoscumque libros quos unquam scripsi et typis dedi, quocumque idiomate, examini et judicio S. Catholiæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et Christi in terris Vicarii, Romani Pontificis; et ex nunc retracto, damno, deleo et rejicio quidquid in eis repertum fuerit erroneum, scandalosum aut quocumque modo noxium Catholiæ fidei, sanæ fidei, bonis moribus aut etiam quibuscumque hominibus: promittens, si vita et vires suppetent, ea omnia quæ in meis dictis operibus damnanda aut supprimenda visa fuerint, me expresse et ex animo, etiam libris editis, quatenus opus fuerit, retrac-

Before many years had elapsed the power of Ormond, already at its summit, was seen to give way. He was supplanted by his rival, Buckingham; while Berkley, a wise and moderate man, was at the same time invested with the administration of the affairs of Ireland. During his commission, which lasted only four years, the Catholics enjoyed stations of trust and honour, they became members of corporate bodies and of the magistracy, while an unprecedented calm appeared to settle upon the nation. It was, however, no more than the periodical stillness with which every boisterous element in nature is attended; for in 1673 the reins of government were once more placed in the hands of Ormond, and the country with its religion and rising happiness is again converted into an universal scene of terror and blood. Through the infamous intrigues of Shaftsbury, Lord Chancellor of England, Titus Oates and other wretches of hired villany were brought forth; Catholic plots and popish treason became the ordinary outcry of the day. The old machinery of past sanguinary times was got ready, and Catholics of every rank were marked out as the victims in whose blood these tragical preparations were to terminate. During the following year the Catholic chapels of the kingdom were closed; priests both secular and regular were proscribed; the same spirit which walked abroad in the days of Elizabeth and of Cromwell was now making rapid strides along the hamlets, towns and cities of the country. Peter Talbot, the venerable Archbishop of Dublin, sinking under age and infirmity, and Lord Mountgarret, old and bed-ridden, were

turum, et judicium proprium semper Ecclesiæ: judicio omnino submissurum, prout nunc revera submitto, tanquam humilis et obediens Ecclesiæ et Ordinis Seraphici filius. In quorum fidem præsentibus subscripsi die 13 Martii, 1688, (stylo novo.)

"JOSEPHUS FRANCISCUS GENETTI,
 "PR. FR. ANTONIUS M'CARTHY,
 "PR. FR. JOANNES EVERARD,
 "PR. FR. FRANCISCUS FORSTALL."

both taken into custody and dragged to prison.* The saintly, learned and illustrious Archbishop of Armagh, Oliver Plunket, fell a victim to the malice of his enemies in London.† Dominick Burke, Bishop of Elphin, and numberless others found means of retiring from the kingdom and thus escaped the pursuit of their persecutors. These frightful scenes were kept up with but little intermission until the year 1685, when Charles II ended his mortal career. It has been stated by writers of respectability, that Charles had long before this event secretly renounced Protestantism and embraced the truths of the Catholic faith.‡ That he was attended on his death-bed by Father John Huddleston, an English Benedictine, rests on the authority of that eminent divine and on unquestionably authentic documents which are to be found in the writings of Doctor Philip Ellis, Chaplain to James II and afterwards Bishop in the *Compania Romana*.§

James II, who ascended the throne on the death of his brother, had both before and after his elevation to that state openly declared his religious principles and avowed himself a Catholic. Religious toleration was now proclaimed throughout Ireland; the churches and monastic establishments of the country were repaired or rebuilt; the clergy secular and regular appeared in their respective ecclesiastical costume, and all the ceremonies of the Church were performed with the same pomp and solemnity as had been observed in the brightest period of Catholic times. To complete this scene of universal joy and to consummate the happiness of the nation, Richard Talbot, Viscount Tyrconnell, brother of Peter Talbot,

* See chap. III.

† See chap. II.

‡ Carte, Vol. II. p. 172.—Harris de Script. Hiber. p. 191.—Sir R. Southwell's Narrative, p. 27. According to these authorities, Charles was received at Cologne into the bosom of the Catholic Church in 1656, by Peter Talbot, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin.

§ Berninus, *Hæresum Historia*.

the late Archbishop of Dublin, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. His bravery in the field had long since entitled him to this distinguished honour; his prudence, moderation and love of justice are a few among the many other excellent qualities which had pre-eminently fitted him for the faithful discharge of this high and trust-worthy commission. James, however, had been scarcely three years on the throne, when all the symptoms of popular convulsion, so characteristic of those times, began to make their appearance. The Protestants of England and of Ireland as well as the Puritans of Scotland took the alarm. Many of the great land owners of the country, inheriting property to an immense amount and resting on no better title than that of confiscation, began now to give way to their fears; an universal panic broke in at once upon their hitherto undisturbed repose. Religious bigotry, the curse and scourge of mankind, presently lent its aid, while James, in the midst of this revolutionary movement, had the mortification of witnessing his kingdom invaded and his throne assailed by no less a personage than William, Prince of Orange, his own son-in-law. With the civil events of the country this analysis has but little connexion; it may, however, be remarked that by the battle of the Boyne on the 2nd of July, 1690, the fate of King James was decided; the sacking of Athlone and the battle of Aughrim in 1691 inflicted another deadly blow, but when Limerick surrendered on terms solemnly pledged yet afterwards shamefully violated, the whole kingdom almost instantaneously submitted and recognized the sovereignty of William III.

The history of this reign, so far as Catholicity was concerned, would be little more than a mere rehearsal of all the sanguinary laws and revolting cruelties which disgraced the times of Elizabeth and of the usurper Cromwell—events which with pain and sorrow have been already unfolded. He set out, as in general all revolutionary adventurers do, by

holding up promises which were never performed and by acts of occasional lenity and moderation; but when, in 1695, the administration of this country had been placed in the hands of Capel, the veil was instantly removed and the Catholics of Ireland had a full view of the chasm which time and intrigue were working and had already prepared for their seemingly universal destruction. During the government of this Viceroy, acts were passed to prevent domestic as well as foreign education, to prohibit the diffusion of knowledge, and to brutalize the Irish. Both houses of parliament were closed against Catholics; the oaths of supremacy and of abjuration were enforced, and as had been the case in the terrific days of old, all bishops, vicars-general and friars were compelled by law to quit the kingdom on or before the 1st of May, 1698. The return of these ecclesiastics was adjudged high treason, but should any person attempt to conceal them, he shall for the first offence be liable to a penalty of twenty pounds; for the second offence forty; and for the third, he shall be subjected to the forfeiture of all his goods and chattels, one-half of which to be given to the informer and the other half to the crown.

The outrageous manner, in which the priesthood of Ireland had been now treated, elicited the commiseration of all civilized Europe. Among the numerous letters of condolence which during these melancholy times had been addressed to the prelates and people of Ireland, there was one from that venerable Father of the faithful, Innocent XII; it was dated, at St. Mary Major, 10th of June, 1698. In this epistle, the Holy Father, after alluding to the crucible through which the Church of Ireland had passed and the ordeal to which it was now exposed, exhorts both prelates and people to look with patience to that eternal kingdom which had been so dearly purchased for them—"Nor, says he, are your sufferings like those of yesterday; they are the sufferings of centuries; your nation, renowned for sanctity, has preserved for ages the

glory of the faith to your eternal honour and the salvation of your souls. Therefore suffer all things with Christian patience, knowing that the Lord will not permit any being to be tried beyond his strength—as to us, our prayers shall be unceasing before the throne of mercy.” The same venerable Pontiff, immediately after by Apostolical letters enjoined processions to be made and public prayers to be offered in behalf of the suffering Church of Ireland throughout the several diocesses of Italy and all the adjacent islands.* The persecution under William remained unabated: according to South’s account, the number of regulars banished in that year (1698) from Ireland, amounted to 454; namely, from Dublin, 153; from Galway, 190; from Cork, 75; from Waterford, 36.† These inoffensive men, thus exiled from the land of their birth, were afterwards scattered over the nations of Europe; existing witnesses of the merciless government under which they lived, and by their banishment, poverty and sufferings proclaiming to the world the unfeeling, intolerant spirit of the British laws.

William died by a fall from his horse in the fifty-second year of his age and the thirteenth of his reign, (1702.)

* Ex Archivo Secretarii Brevium.

† Philosop. Trans. v. iii. p. 667.

CHAPTER II.

Successors of St. Patrick—Episcopal Sees—Religious Foundations of the Seventeenth Century.

The Archbishops, who had presided over the See of Armagh during the seventeenth century, were: Peter Lombard; Hugh Mac Caghwell; Hugh O'Reilly; Edmund O'Reilly; Oliver Plunket and Dominick Maguire.

PETER LOMBARD, who succeeded to the metropolitan chair immediately on the death of Edmund Mac Gauran, was descended from an ancient and distinguished line of ancestry; his father was an opulent merchant in the City of Waterford and had, by his upright and intrepid conduct during the reign of Elizabeth, justly elicited the respect of his fellow citizens. In compliance with the wishes of his friends, he placed his son under the celebrated Camden, who had been at that period a professor in Westminster School. The time which the youthful Lombard had spent in Westminster could not be considerable; he was removed from thence at a very early age and soon after proceeded to Louvain with a view of entering on a course of ecclesiastical studies. The University of Louvain, comprising twenty-nine colleges subject to its constitutions, had at that period been considered one of the first literary establishments in Europe.* It was frequented by students from all nations, and among that number were several Irishmen whom the intolerance of the British laws had forced into exile, but who on that account were received by the Lovanians with more than ordinary marks of attention. In this retreat of science Peter Lombard devoted

* Fasti, Lovanien, Valerio Andrea. Ed. 1635.

upwards of fifteen years to the study of the Scriptures and of the Fathers: he graduated a doctor in divinity and afterwards continued to deliver theological lectures in the University with great success. His reputation was not confined within the halls of Louvain: he had many admirers in the City of Rome, and among the number of his patrons that great encourager of literature, Clement VIII, has been particularly noticed. Doctor Lombard was soon after appointed Provost of the Cathedral of Cambray and was subsequently advanced to the See of Armagh upon the death of Edmund Mac Gauran in 1598.* Such was the unabated fury of the storm then raised against the prelacy of Ireland that it was impossible for a Catholic bishop to return with safety into the kingdom: a promotion to the episcopacy was considered as a step to the scaffold, while in most of the sees the ecclesiastical administration was committed to the care of a Vicar General; in this manner the Archdiocese of Armagh appears to have been governed during the time of this learned Primate.† At the solicitation of his friends he removed to Rome, was nominated domestic prelate to Clement VIII and was finally intrusted with the presidency of the congregation “De Auxiliis,” by his Holiness, Pope Paul V. During his residence in this city he completed a treatise entitled “Causa circa Decretum Clementis Papæ VIII,” and about the same time he published his still more celebrated work, “De Regno Hiberniæ, Sanctorum insula, Commentarium.” The truths contained in this latter work were so galling to the intolerant mind of James I that he gave orders for its public suppression.‡ It was re-published at Louvain, in the year 1632, and became the precursor of other similar productions which appeared in the course of this and the succeeding centuries. The Primate, Peter Lombard, died at Rome, A.D. 1625.

* Fasti Acad. Lov. p. 86.

† O’Sullivan Bearre. T. 4. L. 1.

‡ Porter, p. 186.

HUGH MAC CAGHWELL (Cavellus,) the successor of Peter Lombard, was born in the County of Down in the year 1572, and received his education at the University of Salamanca. Having embraced the institute of St. Francis in an ancient convent of that city, he pursued his scholastic researches and applied himself particularly to the metaphysical writings of his countryman John Duns Scotus. While employed in successfully defending the opinions of that celebrated Doctor against Abr. Bzovius and others, Hugh Mac Caghwell was unwilling that his country should be deprived of the honour to which it was clearly entitled. From a variety of records and well supported traditions he established beyond the possibility of a doubt that Ireland was the birth-place of John Duns Scotus, and in advocating this opinion his arguments were happily illustrated by the researches of Ponce, Hickey, Wadding and other contemporaries. Owing to the intolerance of Elizabeth and of James I, the number of Irish students who had at this time taken refuge in the Spanish dominions became very considerable: several colleges had been already founded for the advancement of the mission of Ireland but they had at this time been crowded to excess; while candidates, in great numbers, were to be found particularly in Spain and the Netherlands without any regular destination. To apply a remedy to these evils, the learned Mac Caghwell and Florence Conry, Archbishop of Tuam, availed themselves of the influence which they possessed in the Spanish court and prevailed on Philip III to lay the foundation of the Irish Franciscan College at Louvain, which was dedicated to St. Anthony of Padua and became in after times the fruitful nursery of religious and learned men.* The administration of this rising establishment had been for many years committed to the care of Cavellus; he occupied the principal chair of theology and

* Wadding, *Scrip.* p. 108.

acquired great celebrity by his annotations on the commentaries and other difficult portions of the writings of Scotus.—At the request of the Minister General of his order he repaired to Rome, and was appointed Definitor General and professor of divinity in the Convent of Ara Coeli in that city. Here he completed his “Apologia,” or vindication not only of the principles of Scotus but likewise of his peculiarity of style and subtlety of argumentation. This work was answered by Nicholas Jansenius and produced a second “Apologia,” still more comprehensive and satisfactory. The virtues of this profound divine had, as well as his learning, entitled him to an exalted rank in the Church; he was held in high esteem by Pope Paul III and in 1626 was advanced by that Pontiff to the vacant metropolitan See of Armagh. Although the sword of persecution had been still impending over the Church of Ireland, its terrors at once disappeared before the ardour of this apostolic man; he resolved to visit his native country and made the necessary preparations for his journey, but was seized with a sudden illness and died on the 22nd of September, 1626, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. His remains were interred in the Church of St. Isidore at Rome, and a monument with a suitable inscription was afterwards erected to his memory in the same Church by John O’Neal, Earl of Tyrone. This learned Prelate has published the following works: 1. *Scoti commentaria in quatuor libros Sententiarum, cum annotationibus Marginalibus.*—Antwerp, 1620. 2. *Apologia pro Johanne Duns Scoto, adversus Abr. Bzovium, ordinis Prædicatorum.* 3. *Alia Apologia, adversus Nicholaum Jansenium.* 4. *Scoti commentaria Seu Reportata Parisiensia.* 5. *Questiones Quodlibetales.* 6. *Questiones in Metaphysicam, de primo Principio et Theoremata-Venetis.*—1625. 7. *Questiones in Libros de Anima.* And a Treatise written in the Irish language, entitled “The Mirror of Penance.”—Louvain, 1628.*

* Wadding—Harris’s Writers, p. 104.

HUGH O'REILLY, Bishop of Kilmore, was translated from that See to Armagh on the demise of Hugh Mac-Caghwell, in 1626. His administration comprises that awful period of our history, which has been already noticed and during which the prudent forbearance and honourable consistency of this Prelate had served powerfully to exalt his character in the estimation of all parties. Throughout the whole series of these numerous and complicated scenes this Prelate invariably attached himself to the principles of the Nuncio. When that functionary returned from Waterford and formed a supreme council on the ruins of the former, the Primate, Hugh O'Reilly, attended at Kilkenny and was among the number of those who subscribed to the new oath of association.* After this memorable reformation of the supreme council, the Primate retired to the more agreeable duties of his diocese, until the year 1648, at which time the second treaty was concluded with Inchiquin. Guided by the honest dictates of his own judgment, a privilege to which on matters of national policy every man has an undoubted claim, he again appears on the side of the Nuncio and enters his protest against the cessation. Whatever opinions may have been formed as to the conduct of the Primate on these occasions, one thing is certain, that he had acted throughout with a degree of unbending consistency: he adhered to the fortunes of the Nuncio and even to the wreck of the nation as long as a single plank was suffered to remain, and when at length the meeting of James's-town was convened, the acts of that assembly, in which the perfidy of Ormond was reprobated, received the signature of this Metropolitan together with those of eleven bishops and several other ecclesiastical dignitaries.† After having governed the Archdiocese of Armagh during angry and perilous times, the Primate, Hugh O'Reilly, died in the County of Cavan about the year 1656.‡

* Ex Archiv. S. Isidori, Arm. v. fol. 98. † Cox, part ii. Appen. xlviii. p. 178.

‡ Jus Primatiale ab Oliv. Plunket, p. 30.

EDMUND O'REILLY was advanced to the Metropolitan See of Armagh on the year following. He was a native of the County of Dublin and had for some time discharged the duties of pastor in the Archdiocese. His zeal and other good qualities added much to his reputation and about the year 1637 he was sent to Louvain as Rector of the Irish College in that City. He returned in 1640 to his native country, was received with marks of high esteem by the Archbishop of Dublin, Thomas Fleming, and was soon after appointed his Vicar General.* This office he continued to discharge at a period when the kingdom and particularly the diocese of Dublin was one scene of terror between the confederates and their puritanical opponents. The Archbishop, being a member of the Supreme Council, was obliged to reside frequently at Kilkenny; thither also his Vicar General had occasion to repair and throughout the entire course of the discussions he was generally considered one of the most strenuous supporters of the Nuncio. This it was which exposed him to the obloquy of Peter Walsh and subjected him to a lengthened series of persecution. During the usurpation of Cromwell this eminent ecclesiastic with many others fled from the country and took refuge in Lisle. About this period the See of Armagh became vacant, and the merits of Edmund O'Reilly having been already appreciated at Rome he was advanced to the Primacy and consecrated at Brussels about the year 1657. Notwithstanding the awful aspect of the times he now formed the resolution of revisiting Ireland, and having passed through Calais, where he received letters from Cardinal Mazarine, he arrived in London during the spring of 1658. Father Peter Walsh had, it seems, taken up his residence about the same time in this city; he soon became acquainted with the arrival of the Primate, and according to his own acknowledgement had him arrested with some other

* Arch. S. Isodori, Arm. v. n. x.

ecclesiastics and sent back to a port on the coast of France.* Not content with this act of treachery Father Walsh undertakes to assail the character of the Primate. He endeavours to represent him as an abettor of the Puritans and an enemy to the King, and charges him with having given directions that prayers should be offered throughout the Province of Armagh for "the prosperity of Cromwell."† The author of these calumnies was however unable to produce any authority, save the assertion of two anonymous informers; the statement was therefore universally discredited. This venerable Prelate, however, soon found means of returning to his native country where he remained until the year 1662, when he was again forced into exile.‡ During the national Synod of 1666 he was allowed, by means of Ormond, to return provided he would sanction what was then termed the Vale-sian Remonstrance. He landed in Dublin on the very day when this troublesome document had been subjected to the final decision of the Synod. To the Primate it appeared inadmissible: its language seemed to him equivocal as well as disrespectful to the holy See, while the formula proposed by the great majority of the clergy together with the Sorbonne propositions embraced all that was necessary to express their unqualified allegiance to his Majesty. This Prelate continued throughout an avowed opponent to the favourite Remonstrance of Peter Walsh, notwithstanding the storms which he had reason to expect would on that account have been collected around him. Scarcely had the Synod been dissolved

* Hist. of Remon. Treat. i. part i. p. 610.

† Stewart, in his memoirs of Armagh, page 356, has committed an egregious mistake by imputing these charges to Hugh O'Reilly, the predecessor of Edmund. He quotes the statement of Cox and the testimony of Peter Walsh. Now Cox, in these passages, makes no mention whatever of Hugh O'Reilly, while Peter Walsh labours in vain to fasten them on the Primate, Edmund.

‡ See p. 205.

when the Primate was arrested and placed under a strong military guard on the pretended grounds of his having come to this country for the purpose of preparing the way for an invasion. To give some colour of plausibility to their proceedings, Ormond and his secretary Sir George Lane circulated a report, that a communication to that effect had been received at the Castle from the Earl of Sandwich, at that time Ambassador at the court of Spain.* The effect of this ill-digested scheme on the public mind may be readily conceived; even among the court party it received but little credit, the Primate was, however, hurried away from Dublin under the custody of Stanley, the town Major, and having been conveyed to Dover was transmitted from thence to Calais and banished the kingdom. This persecuted exile continued but a short time in France; he removed to Louvain where the severity of his past sufferings had so exhausted his constitution, that he lingered for a period and died about the year 1669.

OLIVER PLUNKET, a descendant of one of the most ancient and illustrious families in Ireland and nearly related to the Earls of Fingal, was advanced to the primacy of Armagh in the year 1669. He completed his course of ecclesiastical studies in the Ludovisian college at Rome, graduated a doctor in divinity and afterwards became a distinguished professor of theology in the college "*De propaganda fide*," the duties of which office he continued to discharge for more than twelve years. His exemplary life as well as his learning had recommended him to the notice of the Sovereign Pontiff, accordingly on the decease of Edmund O'Reilly he was nominated by Clement IX and promoted to the vacant see.†

The Catholics of Ireland were at this period allowed to enjoy some share of repose; that spirit of intolerance, by which the nation had been so long distracted, was at

* Hist. of Remon. Part II. Tr. I. p. 745. † Archdekin, Theol. Tripart. p. 227.

length compelled to give way under the mild administration of Lord Berkley; many of the prelates had returned to their sees, places of worship were repaired and all the duties of religion were performed with safety throughout the kingdom. During this temporary calm the labours of the Primate in reviving the religious fervour of ancient days were truly apostolical; his official acts were marked by a superior degree of prudence and from the temperate manner in which they were enforced must necessarily have given universal satisfaction. In 1671, he was delegated by commissorial letters from the holy See, to decide in a case then contested between the Dominicans and Franciscans relative to their respective rights of receiving the alms of the faithful in the dioceses of Armagh, Down, Dromore and Clogher. In these districts, with the exception of Dromore, convents belonging to each order had been formerly erected and the several communities were equally privileged to apply to their benefactors without attempting to raise objections against each other. The Franciscans, however, who had settled in Ulster soon after the restoration of Charles II, began to advance some unprecedented claims to exclusive rights and attempted to deprive the Dominicans of their privileges.—After a lengthened controversy, which had been conducted with more clamour than edification, both parties appealed to Rome and the question was ultimately referred to the decision of the Archbishop of Armagh. The Primate, in issuing his definitory sentence, declares that having received the allegations of the several claimants, he determined, as a matter of prudence, to avail himself of the counsel of those who must have been already acquainted with the subject; that for this reason he had consulted with Patrick Cusack, Bishop of Meath, together with his Vicar General Oliver Dease, and Thomas Fitz-Simons, Vicar General of Kilmore; and that finally having pronounced a decision in favour of the Dominicans he confirms the same by the seal of his au-

thority and requires obedience thereto from all parties under pain of suspension to be incurred without further process or appeal.*

About this time a circumstance occurred which occasioned the publication of a work entitled "*Jus Primatiale*," and which the Primate Oliver Plunket had written with a view of defending the primatial rights of the See of Armagh. A general convocation of the Catholic clergy had taken place in Dublin, for the purpose of preparing an address to Lord Berkley expressive of their gratitude for his mild and paternal administration. In affixing their signatures to this document, the right of precedence was disputed between the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, each prelate refusing to subscribe subsequently to the other. This it was which induced the Archbishop of Armagh to undertake the above mentioned publication, which was followed by a similar work in reply from the pen of Peter Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin.†

The counsel delivered by this apostolic Prelate in the discharge of his ministerial duties received additional efficacy from the example of his own virtuous life. Both contemporary and subsequent writers seem to vie with each other in recording the excellent qualities which form the character of this good man; even Protestant authors, who cannot be suspected of partiality, have willingly afforded the most honourable testimony to his mild, inoffensive manners; his charitable, patient, condescending disposition.‡ The sanctity of his character, however, accorded but badly with the maxims of the corrupt age in which he lived, nor could it secure him from the inveterate malice of blood-thirsty and profligate men. In superintending the concerns of his diocese he had occasion to censure the immorality of some

* Ex Archivo S. Sixti, de Urbe; in Hib. Dom. p. 129.

† See Chap. III.

‡ Burnet's History of his Own Times, p. 502.—Baker's Chronicle.

few individuals among his clergy; persons whose abandoned lives had already afforded notorious scandal to the country and had long since loudly demanded reproof and punishment. The names of these men were, Mac Moyer, Duffy and Maclean, three Franciscans, and Murphy a secular priest, Chanter of Armagh and a noted rapparee.* Filled with rage truly diabolical, these depraved wretches had now conceived the design of taking away the life of their venerable, unsuspecting Prelate; the dark laid conspiracy was readily formed, and in this bond of iniquity they were soon after joined by four laymen, Mac Moyer, Hanson and two miscreants who were a disgrace to the honourable name of O'Neal. The spirit of the age was unfortunately too favourable to the designs of such systematic villains: in England the people were thrown into an extraordinary degree of excitement by the mere rumours of pretended plots and conspiracies, while informers and characters of the vilest description were by the connivance of government amassing fortunes on the ruins of innocence. Thus emboldened, the conspirators repaired to Dublin and afterwards to London where their examinations were received. The charges which these wretches had brought against their Primate were, that on his advancement to the See of Armagh he had entered into a correspondence with the French court for the purpose of effecting an invasion of Ireland. That he engaged to raise a force of seventy thousand Irishmen. That he was to put Dublin and all the sea ports into the hands of the French; and that he was to cause money to be collected among the Irish clergy in order to meet the expenses of this invasion. On the informations of these outcasts, Oliver Plunket, the venerable Archbishop of Armagh, was arrested and confined in Newgate on the 6th of December, 1679. The feeling which this extraordinary occurrence had created throughout the

* Carte, Vol. II. p. 513.

nation cannot be easily described; with the exception of the conspirators themselves, his very enemies contemplated his state with pity and considered his acquittal as inevitable. It was at first believed that his trial would be brought before the court of King's Bench at Dublin, for which purpose he was detained a close prisoner in Newgate until the following October, 1680. Ireland, however, was not the theatre on which his enemies expected to figure with success; their infamous characters as well as the innocence of the accused were too well known in that country; they accordingly found means of having the proceedings transferred to London, where the presence of witnesses and the production of necessary documents would be rendered impossible, and where a jury unacquainted with the parties and a prejudiced judge would have to decide on the fate of their innocent victim.—The Primate was accordingly conveyed under a strong military escort to London, but on the day appointed for his trial in the King's Bench the jury unanimously agreed in refusing the bills against him.* The conspirators, although defeated in this instance, were by no means inclined to relinquish their deadly purpose; they became even more determined. Encouraged in a certain high quarter, a new series of indictments was lodged against him and the 3rd of May was appointed for his trial. The charges contained in these indictments amounted to seven heads and are thus recapitulated by the dying Prelate in the powerful appeal which he delivered from the scaffold on the morning of his execution:

“First, that he had sent letters by one Neal O’Neal to Monsieur Baldesche, the Pope’s secretary; also to the Bishop of Aix and Principe Colonna, that they might solicit foreign powers to invade Ireland. Secondly, that he employed Captain Con O’Neal to solicit the French King for

* Burnet, Vol. I. p. 282.

succour. Thirdly, that he exacted money from the clergy of Ireland for the purpose of introducing the French and maintaining seventy thousand men. Fourthly, that he had this force in readiness and that he had given directions to a friar named Duffy, to raise two hundred and fifty men in the parish of Foghart and county of Louth. Fifthly, that he was to surround all the forts and harbours of Ireland; and that he fixed upon Carlingford, as a fit harbour for the invasion. Sixthly, that he had held several meetings, where money was collected for this purpose. Seventhly, that there was a meeting in the County of Monaghan at which three hundred gentlemen of three several counties had attended; and whom he exhorted to take up arms for the recovery of their estates.”*

Never has there been witnessed a more flagrant act of injustice than that which had been perpetrated during the course of these proceedings. The witnesses and documents so indispensable for the case were all in Ireland; the accused Primate, therefore, prayed the court that time might be granted him for summoning his witnesses, collecting his papers and making the arrangements necessary for his defence.† Five weeks were allowed him by the Chief Justice, but by reason of contrary winds and the uncertainty of the seas they had not arrived at the termination of that period. He accordingly prayed that a further allowance of twelve days might be granted him, but this request was refused and the judges proceeded on the trial.‡ To any person acquainted with the state of Ireland and the circumstances of the accused, the charges by which this innocent Prelate's life was now threatened must appear at once visionary and incredible. “In his defence (observes a Protestant writer,) the Primate alleged the improbability of all that was sworn against him; which was apparent enough. He stated that

* Archbishop Plunket's Speech.

† Archdekin, p. 760.

‡ Id. p. 761.

the Irish clergy were so poor, that he himself, who was the head of a whole province, lived in a little thatched house with only one servant, having never above sixty pounds yearly income; so that neither he or they could be thought very likely to carry on a design of this nature."* But a band of blood-stained and perjured wretches were now arrayed against him; in the face of heaven they sealed their eternal infamy: a verdict of guilty was returned by an ignorant jury, and sentence of death pronounced by a partial, temporizing judge. As soon as the verdict was returned, the innocent and injured Prelate bowed in humble submission to the court; and raising his eyes to heaven in the spirit of a martyr he exclaimed "the Lord be thanked!" He was recommended by the Chief Justice to become an approver, but the Primate assured him that his salvation was dearer to him than a thousand lives. "If (he adds,) I were a man that had no care of my conscience, I might have saved my life; for I was offered it by divers people here, if I would but confess my guilt and accuse others. But, my Lord, I had rather die ten thousand deaths than wrongfully take away one farthing of any man's goods, one day of his liberty or one moment of his life."†

The Catholics throughout England and Ireland had been doomed to witness this tragical scene with horror; among the well minded portion of the Protestant community, it created a general feeling of commiseration. Eachard, in his history of England, assures us, "that the Earl of Essex, late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was so sensible of this good man's hardship, that he generously applied to the King for a pardon, and told his majesty that the witnesses must needs be perjured; for these things sworn against him could not possibly be true. Upon which the King in a passion said, '*Why did you not attest this at his trial? it would*

* Baker's Chronicle, p. 710. † Memoirs of Missionary Priests, Part II. p. 467.

*have done him good then. I dare not pardon any one.' And so concluded with the same kind of answer he had given another person formerly, 'His blood be upon your head and not upon mine.'**

On the 1st of July, 1681, this heroic martyr was placed on a sledge and drawn from the prison of Newgate to Tyburn. "At this awful moment (observes Father Corker, his bosom friend and fellow prisoner,) there appeared in him something beyond expression—something more than human. The most hard-hearted people were melted into tears at the sight.—Many Protestants in my hearing wished their souls in the same state with his. All believed him innocent, and he made Catholics, even the most timorous, in love with death."† When he had reached the place of execution, he addressed the immense multitude in a speech which has been handed down as an affecting memorial of his sufferings, and which we shall take the opportunity of inserting in this place.

"I have some few days past abided my trial at the King's Bench, and must very soon appear at the bench of the King of kings and before a Judge, who cannot be deceived by false witnesses or corrupted allegations, whereas he knoweth the secrets of all hearts. Neither can he deceive any or give an unjust sentence, being all goodness and a most just Judge. Therefore will he infallibly decree an eternal reward for all good works and condign punishment for the smallest transgression of his commandments. This being the case, it would be a wicked act and contrary to my eternal welfare, should I now, by declaring any thing contrary to truth, commit a detestable sin, for which within a very short time I must receive sentence of everlasting damnation. I protest, therefore, upon the word of a dying man,

* Eachard, Vol. III. p. 631.

† Vide Father Corker's Letter in *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, Part II. p. 466.

and as I hope for salvation at the hands of the supreme Judge that I will declare the truth with all sincerity; and this I do in order that the circumstances of my case may be known to all the world.

"It is to be observed that I have been accused in Ireland of treason and præmunire; the prosecutors, however, knowing that I had witnesses who would clearly establish my innocence, came to this city and procured that I should be brought hither where the crimes objected to me were not committed and where the jury were unacquainted with me and with the character of my accusers. Here, after six months close imprisonment, I was brought to the bar on the 3rd of May. But whereas my witnesses and records were in Ireland, the Lord Chief Justice gave me five weeks to procure them. However, by reason of the seas and other impediments this was found impossible: I therefore begged for twelve days more, that I might be in readiness for my trial, which the Lord Chief Justice refused." He then enumerated the several heads of the accusation, as already stated, and refuted each in a strain of reasoning the most convincing, and after having appealed to heaven in testimony of his innocence, he thus proceeds: "You see, therefore, the circumstances in which I am placed; you have heard what protestations of innocence I have made: but that you may be the more induced to give me credit, I do also assure you that a great Peer sent me notice *that I could save my life if I would accuse others*: my answer was, *that I never knew of any conspirators in Ireland, except those who were publicly known as outlaws, and that to save my life I would not falsely accuse any person or prejudice my own soul*. To take away any man's life or goods wrongfully ill becometh any Christian, especially a man of my calling, being a clergyman of the Catholic Church and also an unworthy Prelate, which I do openly confess. Neither will I deny to have exercised in Ireland the functions of a Catholic Prelate, as long as there

was any toleration; and to have endeavoured to bring the clergy, of whom I had the care, to a due comportment according to their calling; and although in this I did nothing but my duty, yet some, who would not amend, had a prejudice for me, and especially my accusers to whom I did endeavour to do good. Those to whom I allude are the clergymen; as to the four laymen who appeared against me, I was never acquainted with any of them. This wicked act of theirs ought, however, not to reflect on religion; whereas it is well known that there was a Judas amongst the twelve apostles and a wicked man named Nicholas amongst the seven deacons. And even as one of the said deacons, holy Stephen, did pray for those who stoned him to death, so do I pray for those who took my life, saying as St. Stephen did, *O Lord, lay not this sin to them.**

"Now that I have declared how innocent I am of any plot or conspiracy, I would I were able with the like truth to clear myself of high crimes committed against the divine Majesty's commandments, often transgressed by me, for which I am sorry with all my heart; and if I should or could live a thousand years, I have a firm resolution and a strong purpose, by your grace, O my God, never to offend you; and I beseech your divine Majesty, by the merits of Christ and by the intercession of his blessed Mother and of all the holy angels and saints, to forgive me my sins, and to grant my soul eternal rest."

* It is recorded that Duffy, one of his perjured murderers, writhing under the vengeance of an angry conscience, had some time after presented himself before a successor of Archbishop Plunket, exclaiming in a tone of awful desperation "Am I never to have peace! is there no mercy for me!" The good Prelate before whom he stood, observed for a time an awful silence; then producing a glass case and placing it before him, he said in a voice deep and solemn, "Look here, thou unfortunate wretch!" It contained the head of his innocent victim. The wretched man unable to bear the sight, swooned away. It is said that he spent the remainder of his days in making public atonement and died a great penitent.—Steward's *Memoirs of Armagh*, p. 363.

Having concluded this appeal amidst the tears of a numerous audience, he continued for some time in prayer and then resigned himself into the hands of his executioners. He was suffered to hang until he expired and was then cut down, beheaded, bowelled and quartered; after which his heart and bowels were cast into the fire. The head, adorned with silvery coloured locks, is still preserved in the Convent of the Dominican nuns at Drogheda.* His body, which was begged of the King, was interred in St. Giles's churchyard: having been raised about four years after, it was found entire and conveyed to the Benedictine Monastery at Lamspring, in Germany, where with great solemnity it was re-intombed. In 1693, the holy Abbot Corker, caused a magnificent monument to be erected over the remains with the following inscription:†

"Reliquiæ, Sanctæ Memoræ, OLIVERI PLUNKET, Archiepiscopi Armachani, HIBERNIÆ Primatis, qui in Odium Catholicæ fidei laqueo Suspensus, extractis Visceribus et in ignem projectis, celeberrimus Martyr occubuit LONDINI, primo die Julii (stylò veteri) Anno Salutis, 1681.

DOMINICK MAGUIRE, a native of the County of Fermanagh and descended from an illustrious family in that district, was advanced to the Primacy immediately after the decease of Archbishop Plunket. At an early age he retired to the Dominican Convent in Derry where he made his religious profession, and afterwards repaired to Andalusia in Spain for the purpose of completing his ecclesiastical studies. Anxious to return to the Convent of Gaula in the County of Fermanagh, of which establishment he had been an alumnus, he proceeded on his journey to Ireland, but when he had reached London his friends prevailed on him to remain in that city, where he became honorary Chaplain to the Spanish Ambassador. Here his acquirements were soon appreciated, and

* Hib. Dom. p. 131.—Stewart. † Memoirs of Missionary Priests, Part II. p. 473.

having been nominated Archbishop of Armagh by Pope Innocent XI, in 1681, he soon after returned to his native country. This Prelate, adopting the example of his predecessor appears to have been a strenuous advocate in supporting the Primatial rights of the See of Armagh. Five years after his consecration he presided at a synod held in Dublin; and in 1691 two provincial synods were convened, one at Limerick and the other at Galway, in which, as Doctor Mac Mahon alleges, his claims to Primatial dignity were recognized.* During the administration of this Prelate, Dominick Maguire, Ireland was almost one uninterrupted scene of terror. When at length, Limerick capitulated, this venerable Prelate yielding to the necessity of the times was compelled to take refuge from the storm, and retired to Paris where he died in 1708, and was interred in the cemetery of the Irish College, usually styled the "College of the Lombards."†

During the awful vicissitudes of the seventeenth century no diocesan unions had been formed; it is, however, a remarkable circumstance that, even in the midst of the tempest, several provincial synods had been convened and diocesan statutes enforced for upholding the morals and discipline of both clergy and people. These constitutions are extant, and as they are closely connected with the history of the Irish hierarchy at this period it may not be deemed improper to annex a summary of them in this place. In the year 1614, during the intolerant administration of Chichester, a Synod of the Province of Leinster was held in Kilkenny, attended by the suffragan prelates and at which Eugene Matthews, Archbishop of Dublin presided.‡ The first statute refers to

* Jus. Prim. N. 29.

† Hib. Dom. 449.

* Agreeably to the order hitherto observed, we shall here subjoin a succession of the prelates who governed the Archdiocese of Dublin during the seventeenth century. This Metropolitan See had been vacant from the year 1559 to that of 1599, or during almost the entire reign of Elizabeth. At length MATTHEW DE OVIEDO,

the decrees of the Council of Trent which were to be observed with reverence; but whereas there were some ordinances which in this country could not be enforced, (such as the decree regarding clandestinity) these are left to the discretion of the ordinary. Secondly, besides the vicar general, a vicar foreign is to be chosen in each deanery, who shall be authorized to preside over the priests intrusted with the cure of souls. Thirdly, those parishes which remain destitute of a pastor may be recommended to the clergy of the neighbouring parishes, or the ordinary should, if convenient, procure the temporary assistance of priests from another diocese. Fourthly, that the sacrament of Baptism be no longer administered by immersion, and that from the Kalends of October in said year, this sacrament is to be conferred by infusion. Fifthly, that in future no priest shall, under any pretext or even in case of necessity, presume to celebrate the holy Sacrifice twice on the same day without a regular licence obtained from the ordinary, or in his absence from the vicar general, and this licence is never to be granted unless in cases that are manifestly urgent. Sixthly, from henceforth,

a Spanish Franciscan and a native of Segovia was consecrated Archbishop of Dublin on the 14th of March, 1599. Being already acquainted with the state of the Irish Church he embarked for this country with the suite of Don Juan D'Aquila, an expedition fitted out at the suggestion of the Earl of Desmond and others. They landed at Kinsale in October 1601, but not meeting with any encouragement they withdrew to their vessels and returned home. The Archbishop Matthew De Oviedo remained in Spain where he died in the year 1608.—EUGENE MATTHEWS, translated from Clogher to Dublin in 1611. Under this Prelate the above mentioned Synod was held. He retired to Louvain where in 1623 he founded an Irish College which ranked as the nineteenth on the records of the celebrated University in that city. This Prelate died at Louvain during the same year.—THOMAS FLEMING, descended from the family of the barons of Slane and a member of the Franciscan Order was consecrated in October 1623. This Prelate during the same year obtained from Pope Urban VIII a brief allowing Irish students to be ordained "*ad titulum missionis*," (see *Hibernia Dominicana* suppl.) He died during the usurpation of Cromwell. PETER TALBOT, consecrated in 1669, died in prison A.D. 1680. See c. iii.—PATRICK RUSSELL, consecrated in 1683, died in 1692. See c. ii.—PETER CREAGH, translated from Cork to Tuam and finally to Dublin in 1693, died about the year 1706.

no chalices shall be consecrated that are not made of silver, or at least the cup thereof together with the paten. Seventhly, "and because the awful circumstances of the times oblige us frequently to celebrate the divine mysteries under the open air," those places are, on all such occasions, to be selected, which shall appear the most safe and becoming; the altar moreover must be covered almost on all sides, so that it may thereby be sheltered from the inclemency of the weather. Eighthly, should persons confined in prison and not having the opportunity of a priest feel sincerely sorry for their sins and have a desire to be refreshed with the sacred viaticum, the blessed Eucharist may, in such case, be sent privately by a layman; should the captive about to communicate be a priest, he may administer it to himself: should he be a layman, he must not touch the sacrament with his hands, but receive it reverently on his tongue from the pixis.—Ninthly, those who shall presume to contract marriage clandestinely shall incur the censure of excommunication, *latæ sententiæ*; and whereas the publication of the banns has been attended with numberless advantages, it is ordained, that, together with the penalty imposed by the canons, the Ordinary also shall severely punish any priest who shall be found guilty of neglecting such publication. Tenthly, whereas a great scarcity of pastors universally prevails in these days of affliction, it is on that account advisable that the ordinaries confer with the superiors of the regular orders and thereby obtain a supply of priests necessary for the due discharge of the pastoral duties in each diocese. Eleventhly, that the faithful may be well acquainted with the festivals of obligation, it is decreed that the following enumeration of them be published: all Sundays throughout the year; the Circumcision of our Lord; the feasts of St. Brigid, (in the Diocese of Kildare,) of the Purification, of St. Patrick, of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, of St. Mark the Evangelist, of Easter Monday and Easter Tuesday, of SS.

Philip and James, Apostles, of the Invention of the holy Cross, of the Ascension of our Lord, of Whitsun Monday and Whitsun Tuesday, of the solemnity of Corpus Christi, of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, of SS. Peter and Paul, of St. Mary Magdalen, of St. James the Apostle, of St. Laurence Martyr, of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, of St. Bartholomew Apostle, of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, of St. Matthew the Evangelist, of the Dedication of St. Michael, of St. Luke the Evangelist, of the Apostles SS. Simon and Jude, of All Saints, of St. Martin, of St. Laurence Archbishop of Dublin, (to be observed in that diocess,) of St. Andrew the Apostle, of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, of St. Thomas the Apostle, of the Nativity of our Lord, of St. Stephen, of St. John the Evangelist, of the holy Innocents, of St. Joseph, of St. Anne, and of St. Sylvester; to which was afterwards added in the Synod of 1685, under Archbishop Russell, the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. Twelfthly, the days on which the faithful are bound to fast are thus enumerated: all days in lent, except Sundays; the quarter-times; the vigils of Pentecost, of St. John the Baptist, of St. Laurence Martyr, of the Assumption, of All Saints, of SS. Peter and Paul, of the Apostles Mathias, James, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Jude, Andrew and Thomas, and the vigil of the Nativity of our Lord.—Finally, the respective Ordinaries are strictly enjoined to put these statutes into immediate execution, and cause them to be diligently observed by all persons within the sphere of their jurisdiction. These constitutions were ratified in the several provincial synods which were held at subsequent periods in this century under Thomas Fleming, Peter Talbot and Patrick Russell, Archbishops of Dublin.

Religious toleration beginning at length to dawn on the Church of Ireland about the year 1685, three provincial synods were held under the Archbishop of Dublin, Patrick

Russell. The acts of these congregations refer to the administration of the sacraments, to public instruction and to the collation of parishes. It was ordained, that no priest having the cure of souls should be absent from his cure more than three days without the licence of the ordinary, and should he be absent even for a shorter period, he must in the mean time provide an approved priest to superintend the concerns of the parish. That no priest, secular or regular, (except parish priests and their coadjutors,) shall presume to celebrate the holy mysteries *twice* on Sundays or holydays except on the feast of the Nativity of our Lord; nor shall any priest, except the pastor and his coadjutor, celebrate in any private house, in cities or towns, without permission from the ordinary. That no pastor or other priest shall administer the blessed Eucharist from Low Sunday to persons from another parish, unless such persons should have already complied with the precept of the annual communion. That every priest, who has for five years been intrusted with the cure of souls, shall offer a silver chalice and a silver pixis, as a gift to the diocess; should he have been ten years in the discharge of the pastoral duties, he must, besides the aforesaid gift, present to the diocess a missal with a suit of vestments and other ornaments necessary for the altar, but should he neglect to comply with this order he is to be deprived of his cure; these offerings are to be distributed by the ordinary among those parishes where the greatest necessity prevails. That no priest, having possession of a parish for three years, shall on that account presume to acquire a right to that parish without a regular collation obtained from the ordinary, and that all such as have not as yet received a formal collation must procure one within six months or be deposed. That the religious of the mendicant orders are to assist the pastors in preaching and catechizing, and that no pastor shall without a just cause approved of by the ordinary prevent these religious from receiving the alms of the

faithful at the parochial altars: the religious in the mean time must know that their admission to beg at these altars does not arise from any right, but from the sole gratuitous bounty of the ordinary. That, finally, the acts and ordinances of the provincial synod convened at Kilkenny, A.D. 1614, are hereby received, ratified and ordered to be observed faithfully throughout the province.*

The storms which blew over the Church of Ireland during this as well as the preceding century were in a particular manner levelled against the religious foundations of the country. Nevertheless these institutions appear to have set all opposition at defiance: during the operation of the laws of James I, the Capuchins and the Discalced Carmelites first arrived in Ireland and settled even in the metropolis. The former of these invaluable and learned bodies landed in Dublin in the year 1623, and under their superior, Edmund Ling, a native of Cashel, fixed their abode between St. Audoen's Arch and School-house lane: the arrival of the latter was in 1626; Patrick Donovan, a native of Youghal, was Prior and their residence was in Church-street.† In all the proscriptions of these times the Regulars of Ireland were unexceptionably involved, but their perseverance rose superior to every difficulty: many illustrative instances might be produced, from among which one remarkable fact may suffice. The lonely but beautiful Convent of Multifarnham, in the County of Westmeath, was plundered and reduced to a heap of ruins in the 37th year of the reign of Henry VIII.—Scarcely, however, had the short period of twenty years elapsed when the same community, rising up in the midst of

* *Constitutiones Prov. et Synod. Anno, 1685.*—The Prelates who have signed the above mentioned acts were, Patrick Russell, Archbishop of Dublin; James Phelan, Bishop of Ossory; Luke Wadding, Bishop of Ferns; Edward Westley, Bishop of Kildare and Administrator of Leighlin.

† *MS. Annals of Ireland, in Marsh's library.*

the very ruins that surrounded them, became exceedingly more numerous than ever. So independent had they become that in the year 1622 they undertook the erection of a new Convent at Mullingar, and were it not for the intolerance of the lord of the soil their efforts would have been crowned with success.* Nor was this the only community that had made a stand against the storm. The religious of Dublin, Kilkenny, Wexford, Galway and of many other places, in defiance of the bigotry of the day, had resolved to place themselves around the sanctuaries of their country; to these men death appeared only as the signal of victory, and accordingly when one generation was cut off, they were succeeded by another still more brave and determined. After the national extermination under Cromwell, when Ireland was literally transformed into a slaughter house, the religious who escaped, together with those who afterwards returned from the Continent, became in many places co-labourers with the ordinary pastors in the missionary duties of the country; their exertions, valuable as they had been, were not without being appreciated:† while the vast number who remained in exile, scattered over the different nations of Europe, had, by their industry and talents, contributed to shed an additional ray on the name and religion of their country.

* Cox, Vol. II. p. 39.

† Piles of letters attesting the missionary services of the persecuted religious of these times are preserved, from which we take the following extract :

“ Nos infrascripti attestamur ac fidem facimus religiosos ordinis S. Francisci, periculoso persecutionis ac communis exilii tempore, cum summo vitæ discrimine, ad colendam vineam Dominicam in hoc Hiberniæ regno permanere voluisse et permansisse, et hactenus cum consolatione cleri et populi in ejusdem vineæ cultura religiose et fructuose allaborasse.”

Anthony Mac Geoghan, Bishop of Meath; Daniel Kelly, V.G. of Clonfert; Patrick Daly, V.G. of Armagh; Philip Crolly, V.G. of Clogher; Hugh Kelly, V.G. of Dromore; Patrick O'Muldaug, V.G. of Down and Connor; Thadeus Clery, V.G. of Raphoe; Malachy O'Connell, V.G. of Ardfert.”

CHAPTER III.

Religious and Literary Characters of the Seventeenth Century—General Observations.

In presenting a succinct biography of the eminent Irish ecclesiastics of the seventeenth century we shall proceed chronologically and commence with

FLORENCE CONRY.—This learned Prelate was born in the province of Connaught about the year 1560 and retired at an early age to Spain with an intention of embracing the ecclesiastical state. At that period, the proscribed youth of Ireland met with a friendly reception in all the Spanish provinces. Florence Conry, accompanied with three associates from his own country, applied for admission at the Franciscan Convent in Madrid: they were received, and after the usual time of probation were allowed to make their profession agreeably to the constitutions of the institute. The writings of St. Augustin were those to which he appears to have paid particular attention; in his elucidations of the mysterious and difficult doctrine of grace, as contained in the works of that Father, he eminently excelled, and although he had not yet attained the age required by the canons for ordination, he was even then reputed one of the most profound scholastics in the entire province of Castile. His talents and deep research accompanied by a peculiar meekness of disposition soon raised him in the estimation of all classes; the clergy as well as the court of Spain had already contemplated his merits with tokens of marked approbation and the See of Tuam having become about this time vacant he was nominated by Clement VIII and consecrated Archbishop of that diocese. This Prelate returned to Ireland along with the ill-

fated expedition which Philip II had been recommended to send from Spain; he repaired to his archdiocese, but had been scarcely settled in the country when he was forced into exile by an express order from the Irish government. As soon as the writ for his banishment was received he withdrew to Flanders and from thence to Spain, where he was supported by the bounty of the Monarch himself. At this period the state of the Irish Franciscans, who had removed to the Continent for the purpose of education, was deplorable. In their own country, their convents and schools had been demolished; while in foreign lands they were unable to procure a single house and were only to be seen dispersed and wandering from one kingdom to another. This it was which induced the Archbishop, Florence Conry, to make application to Philip III in their behalf; by means of that Monarch he founded the Convent or Irish Franciscan College of St. Anthony at Louvain, the first stone having been laid by Albert and Isabel in the year 1616.* This Convent became in after times one of the most celebrated retreats of literature in the Low Countries; and from the valuable mass of manuscripts and historical records preserved in its immense library together with the industry and talents of its lecturers it was unquestionably an establishment to which the Irish nation must be for ever indebted. The community was generally numerous, the average number being about forty, but their income was very limited; for nearly a century they were prohibited from seeking alms in public, and were it not for the benevolence of private individuals and occasional donations from the Spanish court, this asylum of literature should necessarily have been abandoned.† The exiled Prelate continued to reside in Spain until 1629, at which period he died in the Franciscan Convent at Madrid and in the 69th year of his age. His remains were translated to

* Wadding de Scrip. p. 210.

† MS. in Archivo Wexfordiæ.

Louvain in 1654 and re-interred with great solemnity in the Church of the Irish Franciscans, on the Gospel-side of the high altar. A splendid monument was at the same time erected to his memory, with an epitaph descriptive of his virtues, his learning, and his sufferings.* The following works have proceeded from the pen of this excellent divine: *De S. Augustini sensu circa B. Mariæ conceptionem.*—Antwerpiæ, 1619. 2. *Tractatus de Statu parvulorum sine baptismo decedentium ex hac vita, juxta Sensum B. Augustini.*—Louvani, 1624. 3. *Peregrinus Jerichontinus. Hoc est, de natura humana feliciter instituta, infeliciter lapsa, miserabiliter vulnerata, misericorditer restaurata.*—Parisiis, 1644.—4. *Compendium doctrinæ S. Augustini circa gratiam.*—Parisiis, 1644. 5. *De Flagellis justorum, juxta mentem S. Augustini.*—Parisiis, 1644. 6. A Catechism written in Irish and entitled "The Mirror of Christ's Life." 7. An Epistle, in the Spanish language, on the persecutions of Ireland.†

GEOFFRY KEATING, the celebrated Irish historian, was a native of Munster and was born about the year 1560. He commenced his ecclesiastical studies in the Netherlands, but afterwards withdrew to Paris where he soon became distinguished and graduated a doctor in divinity. About the commencement of the reign of James I he ventured to return to his native country and for some years continued to discharge the duties of parish priest in the County of Tipperary. His distinguished zeal and the firmness with which he reprov'd vice, without regarding the quarter whence it proceeded, had at length exposed him to the malice of a certain powerful personage. One of his parishioners, a married lady of rank and fortune, was known to have kept up an illicit intercourse with a nobleman of great political influence, and who besides other official stations had been at the time intrusted with the government of the province of Munster. This notorious

* MS. in Archivo Wexfordiæ.

† Wadding, p. 212, et alibi.

scandal was not to be tolerated; the parties were denounced by Doctor Keating from his altar, and in consequence an order was soon after issued by the Governor for his apprehension. The good pastor, yielding to the entreaties of his friends, withdrew from the storm and took shelter among his relatives, in a secluded district on the borders of the Counties of Tipperary and Limerick. In this place of retirement he arranged and completed his history of Ireland, commencing from the earliest period and continuing it in regular order down to the reign of Henry II. The general outline of the work has been taken from the Annals of Nenagh, Innisfallen and Tigernach, but the prominent facts are occasionally mixed up with narratives, which have no claim to credibility and appear to rest on no better authority than mere, popular, unauthenticated traditions. In this respect, however, the writer cannot be charged with having any intention to impose on his readers; in his preparatory epistle he makes a distinct allusion to these unauthorized passages and actually admits their improbability. Peter Talbot, Cox* and others, have been perhaps too severe in their critical remarks on this interesting production; while on the other hand, Peter Walsh, who was well acquainted with the Irish language in which it was written, hesitates not to recommend it as "the best and most complete history which we have for the period of which he hath treated." In 1723, a wretched translation of it was prepared for the press by Dermot O'Connor, which was published first in London and soon after in Dublin. The inaccuracies with which this translation abounds have served in a great measure to bring the history itself into disrepute; chronology, characters and facts are alike carelessly misstated, while in many of the most important passages neither the spirit or the genuine meaning of the original has been any longer preserved.—

* Hist. of Ireland, Epist. to Reader.

Doctor Geoffry Keating did not long survive the publication of his history. He died at an advanced age, and soon after the accession of Charles I, in 1625. He was also the author of a tract written in the Irish language, and entitled "A Defence of the Mass." 2. An Elegy on the death of the Lord Decies. 3. The Three Shafts of Death. 4. A Burlesque on his servant Simon, and other pieces.

PATRICK FLEMING, a near relative to the Lords of Slane, was the son of Captain Garret Fleming and nephew of Thomas Fleming, Archbishop of Dublin; he was born in the County of Louth on the 17th of April, 1599. Feeling a desire to embrace the ecclesiastical state he repaired at the age of thirteen to Flanders, where he completed a course of humanity under his uncle Christopher Cusack, then President of the Irish College at Tournay.* Having spent about five years in this establishment he proceeded to the Franciscan Convent of St. Anthony, in Louvain, where he served his novitiate and was professed in March, 1617; Anthony Hickey, a learned Irish Franciscan, being at the time its superior. Here he applied himself to philosophical and theological exercises and devoted a considerable portion of his time to the study of Irish antiquities, in which he appears to have taken a particular delight. He had long since conceived the design of visiting some of the most eminent libraries on the Continent and of collecting materials for a complete edition of the lives of the Irish saints. Accordingly he removed to Rome in 1623, having been accompanied by Hugh Mac Caghwell, who was at that time one of the most literary Irish ecclesiastics on the Continent and afterwards Archbishop of Armagh. Pursuing their journey through Paris, they accidentally met with Father Hugh Ward, who had been then busily employed in gleaning from the libraries of that city a prodigious collection of valuable matter connected

* Sirini Notitia de P. Fleming, ad Cap. Collect. Sacr.

with the ecclesiastical antiquities of Ireland. From this distinguished man Fleming received the most flattering encouragement; they determined to enter on the work with united exertions, and while one was engaged at Paris the other, it was agreed, should explore the libraries of Rome and collate whatever might be useful and rare in its valuable archives.—For this purpose Fleming and his companion proceeded on their journey towards Italy. In Rome our antiquarian collected immense piles of scarce and curious manuscripts; these he translated and arranged with incredible labour, and when completed he caused them to be carefully transmitted to Ward, who was still occupied in enriching his own splendid collection of documents in Paris. At this period, the Irish College of St. Isodore in Rome having just been established, Patrick Fleming was appointed, by order of his superior, to preside in the school of philosophy.* He continued, however, to apply a great portion of his time to his favourite antiquarian pursuits until about three years afterwards, when he received a second precept to return to Louvain, for the purpose of assisting as lecturer of metaphysics in the College of St. Anthony; the duties of which situation he discharged with singular cleverness until 1631. In the commencement of this year another celebrated establishment was provided for the Irish Franciscans in the City of Prague; it was founded by the Emperor Ferdinand II at the solicitation of Father Malachy Fallon, and was dedicated to the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin. On this occasion Father Fleming was ordered to repair to Prague, where he was constituted the first guardian and also the principal lecturer in divinity. Whilst proceeding on his journey to Prague he committed a large portion of his manuscripts to the care of Moret, a celebrated printer at Antwerp. This collection, which comprised a copious life of St. Colum-

* Ex. Archiv. S. Isodori. Arm. V. N. VI.

banus enriched with annotations, also the monastic rule and penitential of that great man, the penitential of Cummean and other tracts remained unpublished until about forty years after, when they were edited by the care of Thomas Sirinus, a learned Irish Franciscan, under the title of "*Collectanea Sacra*." Father Fleming had not been long settled in Prague when that city was besieged by the forces of the Elector of Saxony. With an intention of effecting his escape he fled from the town in company with Father Matthew Hore, an Irish ecclesiastic of the same order, but they had scarcely advanced beyond the walls, when they were overtaken by a band of miscreants who put them to death.* Besides the *Collectanea Sacra*, Patrick Fleming has also written:—

1. *Dissertatio de Monastica S. Columbani professione*.—
2. *Vita Reverendi Patris Hugonis Cavelli* (Mac Caghwell).
3. *Chronicon Consecrati Petri Ratisbonæ*.

CHRISTOPHER HOLLYWOOD, a learned Jesuit, distinguished by the appellation "*A Sacro Bosco*," became eminent as a polemical writer and flourished in the commencement of the reign of James I. At the age of twenty-one he entered into the society of the Jesuits and completed his studies at Pont a Mousson in Lorrain: he afterwards removed to Padua where he delivered lectures on dogmatical theology for some years. Owing to the persecutions of Elizabeth and the intolerance of her successor, the Church of Ireland had been at this period in a deplorable state; Hollywood received an order from his general to enter on the mission of that country, but on his journey through England he was recognized and cast into prison. By the influence of some friends he was soon after set at liberty and allowed to proceed to Ireland, where he presided over the Society for twelve years and died in 1626. The writings as well as the preaching of this eminent divine had so completely defeated the fanatical

* Wadding, de Scrip. Ord.

views of James I, that at the memorable conference which took place between that Monarch and the Irish Catholic delegates in 1614, he became unable to command his feelings and continued to indulge in a lengthened strain of invective, both against the Primate, Peter Lombard, and the Jesuit, Christopher Hollywood.* The only writings of this learned man which have been published are, 1. *Defensio decreti Tridentini et Sententiæ Bellarmini de Auctoritate Vulgatæ editionis*.—Antwerp, 1604. 2. *Libellus de Vera ac visibili Ecclesia*.—Antwerp, 1604.

HUGH WARD (*Vardæus*), an eminent antiquarian, was a native of the County of Donegal and embraced the Franciscan institute at Salamanca about the close of the reign of Elizabeth.† The delight which he felt in investigating the antiquities of his country and in searching after its records induced him to reside for some years in Paris, the libraries of which city had, in this age, been richly furnished with curious and ancient manuscripts collected in the middle ages from various nations, and particularly from Ireland. In the sixth and subsequent centuries, when the schools of Ireland were frequented by students from distant nations, the great majority of them were those who had come either from the South of Germany or from the Western coasts of Gaul.—These scholars, on returning to their native country, were sure to bring back with them a supply of manuscripts which they had either transcribed from the copies of the schools or received from the dictates of their masters. These manuscripts, after having been conveyed to different parts of the Continent, fell at length into the possession of the monastic communities, by which means they were preserved; but during the convulsions of these revolutionary eras they remained in a neglected state and were at length consigned to the obscure shelves of the magnificent libraries with which

* Porter's *Eccl. Annals*, p. 270.

† Wadding, *de Script. Ord.*

these kingdoms abounded. With this circumstance Ward had been well acquainted; accordingly after having terminated his labours in the French capital he proceeded to the monastic and cathedral libraries in Rouen, Harfleur and Nantes, and afterwards visited many of the ancient establishments of Flanders where he discovered a rich store of literary treasure, including among other matters several synodical acts and martyrological authorities relative to the antiquity of the Archdiocese of Dublin. Having thus terminated his antiquarian researches he retired to the Irish Convent of St. Anthony at Louvain, where he was appointed lecturer in divinity and afterwards its guardian. In this establishment he became acquainted with Michael O'Clery, the celebrated principal compiler of the *Annals of Donegall*, usually styled "the *Annals of the Four Masters*," and of whom we shall take occasion to treat hereafter. Ward, already acquainted with the character of this extraordinary man, was at once determined to avail himself of his assistance. He disclosed to him the plans which he had long since formed of rescuing from oblivion both the civil and religious antiquities of his native land, particularly his design of compiling in one authentic record the acts of the saints and learned characters of his country. Accordingly he induced him to repair to Ireland and collect such materials as he might deem necessary for these interesting subjects.*—O'Clery, impelled by a spirit of patriotism as well as of religion, returned to Ireland where he commenced his labours, and according as the documents had been collated they were transmitted in piles to the College of St. Anthony at Louvain. The death of Ward, however, put an end to all these noble intentions: before the materials could be arranged or even carefully examined this learned and indefatigable antiquarian closed his career: he died in his convent on the 8th

* Wadding, de Scrip. Ord.—Ex. Archiv. S. Isidori. Ar. VI.

of November, 1635.* The manuscripts which he himself had transcribed, together with those which he had received from Patrick Fleming and Michael O'Clery, were afterwards employed by John Colgan when compiling his celebrated work, the "*Acta Sanctorum*," or lives of the saints of Ireland. The works of Hugh Ward which have been edited were, 1. *Dessertatio de S. Rumoldi patria*; with learned amplifications by Sirinus.—Lovanii, 1662. 2. *De Nomenclatura Hiberniæ*. 3. *De Statu et processu Veteris in Hibernia Reipublicæ*. 4. *Martyrologium ex Multis vetustis Festilogiis latino—Hibernicum*. 5. *Anagraphen Magnalium S. Patricii*. 6. *Investigatio Ursulanæ Expeditionis*.

MICHAEL O'CLERY, (Cleirigh) the distinguished Irish antiquarian to whom we have already alluded, was a native of the County of Donegall and was born about the year 1580. Humble in heart and gifted with religious as well as national feelings he retired to the Franciscan Convent of St. Anthony in Louvain, where after his probationary year he was professed and became a lay brother in that community. His extraordinary knowledge of the Irish language and his intimate acquaintance with the antiquities of his country were soon recognized and appreciated by his guardian, the learned Hugh Ward, at whose request O'Clery repaired to Ireland for the purpose of collecting Irish manuscripts and of consulting the most ancient and approved records of the nation. In the execution of this laborious task he spent fifteen years,† during which period he collected numberless memoirs of the Irish saints with their genealogies, several old penitentials, four different ancient martyrologies and immense piles of other valuable monuments of antiquity. These documents he carefully transmitted to Ward, who at that time had been busily employed in compiling a voluminous record of the acts of the saints of Ireland. On this occasion it was that

* Wadding, de Scrip. Ord.

† Præfatio ad *Acta Sanctorum*.

O'Clery had conceived the grand design of reducing into one splendid collection all the civil and ecclesiastical records of the whole nation, scattered as they had been over the wild and desolate recesses of the country; just like the inhabitants themselves whose unfortunate history they so faithfully unfolded. He travelled through the most unfrequented and remote quarters of the kingdom in search of manuscripts and other ancient materials, and having returned to his native County of Donegall he digested them into order and reduced them into three historical treatises. The first tract contained a succinct account of the kings of Ireland, the years of their reign, their genealogies, the year of the world or of the Christian era in which each of them died and the manner in which they ended their days. The second treatise comprehended a genealogy of the saints of Ireland, arranged under thirty-seven classes or heads, and bringing each saint through a long line of ancestors down to the root of the family from which he was descended. The third treatise included the history of the aborigines or first settlers in Ireland; of its revolutions and subjugations since the period of the deluge; of the succession of its kings, their treaties, wars and battles, and other public events of the Island from the year 278 after the flood to the year of Christ 1171.* This book is called "Leabhar Gabaltas," or the book of conquests. These three treatises are extant in manuscript; to the discredit, however, of modern times, they are still suffered to remain unpublished. But the memorable work which must shed an eternal ray of fame around the memory of Michael O'Clery is, "The Annals of Donegall," or as they are generally styled "The Annals of the Four Masters." Before O'Clery entered on the compilation of these national annals, he had actually got into his possession almost all the ancient manuscripts and authenticated records of the king-

* Wadding, de Scrip. Ord.—Ex. Archiv. S. Isodori. Ar. VIII. N. X.

dom. These he compared, criticized and purged; he corrected the narratives, reformed the chronology and reduced the whole into one splendid system of genuine national history. Having thus proceeded in the execution of his work, he retired to the Convent of Donegall and procured the assistance of five other antiquarians, for the purpose of perfecting the noble design which he had contemplated. The names of these learned Irishmen were, Ferfessius O'Conry; Maurice O'Conry and Peregrine O'Dubgennan (O'Duignan), all from the County of Roscommon; Peregrine O'Clery and Conor O'Clery, from the County of Donegall;* and hence the work, if properly styled, might have been entitled "The Annals of the Six Masters." However, the principal compilers were Michael O'Clery, Ferfessius O'Conry, Peregrine O'Clery and Peregrine O'Dubgennan. These annals comprise two large quarto volumes. The antiquarians entered on the compilation of the first volume in 1632. It commences A.M. 2527 and comes down to the year of our Lord 1171. The principal works which they consulted for this volume were the Annals of Innisfallen; the Book of Clonmacnois; the Book of the Island of All Saints, on Lough Rive, which came down to the year 1227; the Book of Senait Mac Manus on Lough Erne, usually called "The Annals of Ulster;" the Records of the Maolconaires (O'Conrys); the Book of the O'Duigenans of Kilronan; the Annals of Tigernach; and the Book of Records of the Mac Firbirs. The second volume was commenced in the year 1635, and begins at A.D. 1335; after which it proceeds in chronological order down to the year 1609; it was afterwards continued to 1636. Hence it appears that the annals of one hundred and sixty four years have perished. The principal works employed for this volume were, the Book of the Maolconaires (O'Conrys), coming down to the year 1505; the Book of the O'Duig-

* Vide Gallic transactions at Michael O'Clery.

enans, from 900 to 1332; a fragment of the Book of Cam Clery from 1281 to 1537; the Book of Maolin Mac Brodin, from 1586 to 1602; and various other approved ancient chronicles of Ireland comprehending both the civil and ecclesiastical history of the country. The civil records embrace a period of three thousand years and the ecclesiastical commence with the establishment of Christianity and are brought down to the year 1636. The transactions connected with the compilation of these national annals have been attested and signed by Bernard O'Clery and Maurice Ultach, Guardians of the Franciscan Convent of Donegall, in which they had been completed; while the expenses of the antiquarians had been defrayed by Ferrall O'Gara, an opulent and patriotic dynast of that country.* The Annals of the Four Masters have been received with an almost sacred respect by all writers both ancient and modern; while Colgan, Lynch and other lovers of antiquity appear to vie with each other in placing the most beautiful eulogiums around the memory of the learned and laborious men by whom they had been compiled.† Michael O'Clery has also published a work entitled "Seanason Nuadh," or glossary of the most difficult and obsolete words in the Irish language.—Lovanii, 1643. After a life spent in the service of religion, of literature and of his country, this great man finished his career in his native land: he died in his Convent of Donegall, A.D. 1643.

DAVID ROTH, Bishop of Ossory and a distinguished member of the Supreme Council, was born in Kilkenny in the year 1573. The spirit of this intolerant age having excluded him from the advantage of an ecclesiastical education in his native land he resolved to retire to the Continent, where he became an alumnus of the Irish Secular College at Douay, and after some years took out a degree of master in sacred

* Gallic transactions. † Cambrensis eversus, chap. VIII.—Acta Sanct. Passim.

theology. He returned to Ireland about the close of the reign of Elizabeth and continued to discharge the perilous duties of pastor in the diocese of Ossory with great firmness and ability. The inestimable benefits resulting from the learning and labours of this excellent missionary were soon recognized; he was honoured with peculiar marks of esteem from the Cardinal Protector at Brussels, was appointed Prothonotary Apostolic and was ultimately constituted Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Armagh.* The See of Ossory had remained vacant since the death of its Prelate, Thomas Strong, in 1601, including a period of seventeen years. It was, therefore, determined in a consistory held under Paul V in 1618 that provision should be made for the see, and accordingly at the instance of Cardinal Verallio, Protector of the Church of Ireland, David Roth was nominated and promoted soon after to the See of Ossory.† He presided over that diocese and had possession of the ancient Cathedral of St. Canice in Kilkenny during the memorable period of the Supreme Council. This Prelate is represented by Borlase as having, in 1646, interdicted the City of Kilkenny, because the Supreme Council had agreed to the peace contrary to the commands of the Nuncio.‡ However this may be, it is certain that the treaty of 1648 had received his approbation, and that he then declined putting the sentence of interdict into execution; a circumstance which called forth the interference of the Archbishop of Dublin, Thomas Fleming, through the medium of an official document. In it that Metropolitan exhorts and even commands him to cause the censure to be observed both in his own cathedral and in all the other churches of his diocese. This letter of the Archbishop is extant, but with the nature of the answer which had been returned or with any of its results

* Hib. Dom. Suppl. p. 869.

† Id.

‡ Irish Rebellion, p. 262.

we have not been made acquainted.* The character of David Roth has been deservedly eulogized by several eminent writers: Usher acknowledges himself indebted to him for information on various subjects, and styles him "a most diligent inquirer into the antiquities of his country,"† while Messingham declares "that he was well versed in all sorts of learning; was an eloquent orator, a subtle philosopher, a profound divine, an eminent historian and a sharp reprove of vice."‡ This venerable Prelate lived but a very short time after the overthrow of the Supreme Council. He died in 1650, and in the 87th year of his age. David Roth has written, *1. Analecta Sacra, nova et mira, de rebus Catholicorum pro fide et religione gestis.*" This work was published under the signature T. N. Philadelpho—Coloniae, 1619, and is divided into three sections: the first section contains an historical narrative of the persecutions of the Catholics of Ireland during the administration of Chichester: the second section presents an impressive exhortation to those who are already marked out for persecution, and the

* Archives S. Isidori.—The following is a copy of the letter of the Archbishop of Dublin:

"Reverendissime Domine—Inexplicabili meo dolore intellexi, Reveren. dominationem Vestram facere difficultatem in obediendo mandatis apostolicis Illust. Domini Nuntii circa observationem Interdicti et Cessationis a Divinis, in magnum Ecclesiasticæ jurisdictionis prejudicium. Quis enim ex Prelatis potest expectare obedientiam in hoc regno, si mandata D. Nuntii neglegantur a Prælato, qui specialem obedientiam juravit sedi Apostolicæ? Ideo tanquam Metropolitanus vester pro mea dignitate et autoritate, Dominationem Vestram Moneo, hortor ac, quantum in me est, præcipio, ut pro majori Dei gloria, ac pro honore Sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ ejusque Nuntii, et pro Salute animarum innocentis Populi, faciat Interdictum et Cessationem, tam in sua Cathedrali Ecclesia, quam in aliis ejus civitatibus et diocesis, punctualiter observari juxta tenorem prædictæ Sententiæ, et ultimi Decreti in *Apostolicis Refutatoriis* Appellationis, quibus me refero. Quod si secus fecerit, Ego hisce exonero meam conscientiam, et Vestram relinquo divino judicio, et Sedis Apostolicæ Censuræ.—Dublinii ex meo cubiculo in Conventu S. Francisci die 10 Junii, 1648.

"Reveren. Dominationis Vestræ Servus,

"Fr. Thomas Dubliniensis."

† Primord, p. 737.

‡ Florileg, p. 87.

third part embraces the history of several bishops, priests and others, who suffered under Elizabeth and James I.* He has also written, 2. *Hibernia Resurgens*. 3. *De Nominibus Hiberniæ Tractatus*. 4. *Elucidationes in Vitam S. Patricii a Jocelino Scriptam*. 5. *Hierographia Hiberniæ*. 6. *Brigida Thaumaturga*. 7. *De Scriptorum Nomenclatura a Thoma Dempstero edita Præcidanium*.

LUKE WADDING, to whose talents and labours the ecclesiastical writers of both ancient and modern times have been indebted, flourished at this period and obtained a pre-eminent rank among the literary characters of the seventeenth century. He was born in the City of Waterford, A.D. 1588; his father Walter having been a citizen of considerable eminence, and his mother Anastasia Lombard, a near relative of the illustrious Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh.† In the fifteenth year of his age he accompanied his brother Matthew to Portugal and entered the Irish seminary at Lisbon, where he studied philosophy under the instruction of the Jesuits. Having completed his philosophical course he retired to the Franciscan Convent of the Immaculate Conception at Matosinhos, situated about three miles from Oporto; here he made his novitiate and was professed on the 23rd of September, 1605, having then attained the seventeenth year of his age. With an intention of prosecuting his ecclesiastical studies he soon after proceeded to a convent of his order at Liria, and from thence to Lisbon where he read divinity, and ultimately to Coimbra, in which place he continued for three years. His learning as well as his virtues having now rendered him universally esteemed he was ordained priest in the Cathedral of Visco, by the venerable Bishop of that place, John Emanuel. At the earnest desire of his superiors Father Wadding immediately after returned to Coimbra, where he soon became distinguished as an eloquent preacher, having been at the

* Vide Wadding, de Scrip. p. 95. † Ex Vita a F. Haraldo, Annal Min. T. 1.

time an excellent Greek and Hebrew scholar, and a perfect master of the Portuguese and Castilian languages. The strong inclination which he had always evinced for study and retirement at length induced him to relinquish these avocations; he accordingly removed to Salamanca and was appointed Lecturer of Divinity, the duties of which office he continued to discharge with great applause until the year 1618. At that time Anthony a Trejo, Bishop of Carthegena, was preparing to proceed on an embassy to Paul V, having been commissioned by Philip III to investigate the question relative to the Immaculate Conception of the blessed Virgin. It was customary on such occasions to nominate some eminent divine, who was thereby privileged to accompany the embassy and was to be consulted on all matters of doubt or difficulty; Wadding, who was then in his thirtieth year, was the person whom that Prelate had selected, and having arrived at Rome about the close of the following summer he was invited to reside at the palace of Cardinal Gabriel a Trejo, brother to the Bishop of Carthegena. The splendour of a palace, however, appeared to him as altogether inconsistent with the humility of his religious profession; he therefore continued but a short time with the Cardinal and then withdrew to the Franciscan Convent of St. Peter in *Monte Aureo*.

It would be difficult to describe the literary labours which this great man had now to encounter. After having consulted the Vatican and other archives in Rome, he travelled to Perouse, Assisi, Naples and other places, in search of materials. He may be said to have actually lived in the libraries, where without thinking of rest or food he spent whole days and nights in collecting and transcribing, and has written "The entire acts of that legation." During this period he also composed and published various treatises on "the Immaculate Conception," to which we shall have occasion to allude hereafter: he compiled the "Opuscula S. Francisci," in three books from the archives in which they

had been deposited—he discovered the Commentaries of Angelus de Paz in manuscript—the Hebrew Concordances of the holy Scriptures in four tomes by Marian Calasius, and the Concordantiæ S. Antonii, all of which he carefully revised and published. Wadding, having thus succeeded in his literary discoveries, directs his attention to the writings of Scotus. He collected all the manuscripts of his countryman, John Duns Scotus, which had never been edited, and these he illustrated with valuable scholia. He then collected such portions as had been published with the commentaries of Cavellus, Mauritius a Portu and others, and compared them with the manuscript which he had in his possession. He corrected various errors in the text and purged the work from spurious interpolations; enriching the whole with marginal notes and thus exhibiting the genuine *Reportata Parisiensia*. To render the edition still more complete, he inserted the commentaries of Cavellus, the supplement of John Ponce and the three tomes of Hickey's commentaries on the four books of Sentences;* and having then added a preliminary dissertation and a life of Scotus he published the whole at Lyons, 1639, in sixteen volumes, folio, and dedicated the work to Philip IV. Wadding had now determined that the memory of the great men, with which his order abounded, should not be consigned to oblivion. He accordingly undertook the task, attended as it must have been with immense labour, and published a Bibliothéque of the Franciscan order, (*Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*, Romæ 1650.) About this time he published also a correct edition of the work of John Guallensis, a learned Franciscan, entitled "*De Oculo Morali*," which had been falsely attributed to Raymund Jordan, a Regular Canon; and about two years after he revised and edited the Life of St. Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, together with the Lives of the Popes and Cardinals written by Ciaconius.

* For Hickey and Ponce see page, 284.

The grand work, however, which has immortalized the name of Wadding, is his "*Annales Minorum*"—the Annals of the Franciscan Order, undertaken at the command of his superiors, and in the execution of which he spent twenty-four years. Besides the immense supply of materials which he had drawn from the Roman, Gallican and Spanish archives, he was furnished with piles of documents from almost all the nations of Christendom. These he arranged with singular chronological precision and ultimately digested in eight volumes folio, under the title—"Annales Minorum, in quibus res omnes Trium Ordinum a Sancto Francisco institutorum tractantur." The first tome commences from the foundation of the Order and comes down to the year 1250; the second tome and annum 1300; the third tome ad an. 1350; the fourth tome ad an. 1400; the fifth tome ad an. 1450; the sixth tome ad an. 1475; the seventh tome ad an. 1500; the eighth tome ad an. 1540. The seven first tomes of these annals were published at Lyons; the first having issued from the press in 1625 and the seventh in 1648; while the eighth tome was published in Rome in 1654. In the year 1731, a second edition of these annals was published at Rome, in 16 volumes folio, by Joseph Fonseca ab Eboræ, with supplements and a copious life of the learned Wadding, written by his nephew Father Francis Harold.* They were afterwards abridged by Francis Harold and published with a continuation in two volumes, folio. The compilation of these and other voluminous works, which still remain to be noticed, must have been a labour almost insurmountable; but the towering mind and untired perseverance of this great man rose superior to every difficulty. His learning had now rendered him an object of universal esteem. Philip IV, in a letter written by that Monarch himself, complimented Wadding in terms the most flattering for his literary services, and

* See an account of Francis Harold, p. 289.

among the number of his patrons in Rome may be mentioned Cardinal Sandova, Archbishop of Toledo, and many of the ambassadors from the different courts of Europe.

It was not by his writings alone that Wadding had contributed to the interests of religion; he became the founder of colleges, which continue to flourish even to this day and have for upwards of two hundred years supplied the Church of Ireland with an almost countless host of active and distinguished missionaries. It grieved him to witness the spirit of persecution still hovering around the ruined and deserted religious establishments of his native country; and with equal sorrow he beheld the scanty and precarious resources which awaited the exiled Irish ecclesiastic in distant and foreign lands. With the exception of the College of St. Anthony at Louvain, his order was at this time unable to calculate on a single Irish establishment in any province; while priests, students and postulants were to be seen scattered in crowds over almost every nation on the Continent. Wadding at length undertook to provide for this lamentable deficiency. Having obtained the consent of the Pope and of the General of his order, he purchased a piece of ground on which stood an hospital or house of reception for the dis-calced Franciscans of the Spanish nation together with a church dedicated to St. Isodore, and on the site adjoining thereto he caused an extensive and splendid college to be erected. He also enlarged the church by an addition of six chapels and furnished the college with a library of five thousand printed folios and about eight hundred manuscripts. The generous citizens of Rome, to whom the Irish nation owes an eternal debt of gratitude, came forward on this occasion and gave the most splendid proofs of their spirited liberality. So great was the respect which this religious and educated people had entertained for Wadding, that they actually seemed to have vied with each other in supplying him with money and other assistance necessary for the com-

pletion and embellishment of the building. The founder then drew up a body of constitutions and procured the bull of Urban VIII for their confirmation, after which he invited all the Irish Franciscans who were dispersed over Spain, Flanders, Germany and other countries to repair to the College of St. Isodore and prosecute their studies. This College was opened for the reception of students on the 24th of June, A.D. 1625; the learned Luke Wadding having been constituted its first guardian: Anthony Hickey, a native of the County of Clare, and Martin Walsh, from the City of Waterford,* were the lecturers in divinity: the lecturers in philosophy were Patrick Fleming,† from the County of Louth, and John Ponce, a learned Franciscan from the City of Cork. Father Wadding was afterwards, at five successive chapters elected guardian of this invaluable establishment.

His attention was now directed to the interest of the secular mission of his native country. For this purpose he had recourse to his friend and patron, Cardinal Ludovisius, and having acquainted him with the desolate state of the Irish mission he earnestly implored his assistance in founding a college for the education of Irish secular priests at Rome. Wadding's request was instantly granted, and the good Cardinal, besides the seminary which he had founded, had also generously allotted an annual pension of six hundred crowns, and at his death bequeathed a farm, fifteen miles from Rome, and a yearly rent of one thousand crowns for the support of the establishment. The statutes of this College were drawn up by Luke Wadding. Its first Rector was Owen Callanan, an Irish priest, upon whose decease Father Martin Walsh, lecturer of St. Isodore's was promoted to that office, and after some time he was succeeded by Father John Ponce. The students of the Ludovisian Secular Col-

* For Martin Walsh see p. 263.

† For Patrick Fleming see p. 249.

lege, not having the opportunity of a resident professor, were for many years obliged to attend the lectures at Isodore's where they were kindly received and met with every possible attention. Luke Wadding established likewise a convent for novices at Capronica, a retired and beautiful town about twenty-eight miles from Rome, and obtained a licence from the Pope by a bull dated the 8th of May, 1656. This Convent had been previously in the possession of the Augustinians. Having obtained permission from his Holiness to dispose of its trifling revenues, Wadding, by that means and with the liberal assistance of the towns-people, enlarged the building and fitted it out for the reception of twelve novices. The Novitiate of Capronica being presently supplied with subjects, Maurice Mathews was appointed its first guardian.

The character of Father Luke Wadding was at this time regarded with reverential respect, he was consulted by the court of Rome on almost all questions of importance; the regulation of the sees and in short of the whole Irish Church was consigned to his management, and especially when Cardinal Ludovisius had been constituted its Protector during the pontificate of Urban VIII.

When in 1642, the oppressions of Ireland had been carried beyond the bounds of endurance and when the nation had resolved not to suffer itself to be any longer trampled upon, Wadding during this great memorable struggle exhibited many splendid proofs of his being a patriot as well as a scholar. By his influence he raised several contributions of money which he took care to transmit to the Supreme Council; he moreover supplied the confederates with a considerable number of experienced Irish officers, who had been trained to the use of arms in the Spanish, French, and German service. So great was the respect in which he had been held by his Catholic countrymen, that a deputation was sent from the Supreme Council to Rome with a memorial requesting that Urban VIII might be pleased to advance

him to the College of Cardinals. When the deputation arrived in Rome, Wadding got possession of the document, but took care that it should never be presented. This memorial was, after his death, discovered in his closet, with other interesting papers. The mission of Peter Francis Scarampi to Ireland originated with Wadding, and by his advice also the Nuncio Rinuccini was despatched to the same country, under the pontificate of Innocent X. Not many years after, the catastrophe commenced, and the learned Wadding lived to contemplate the melancholy prostration of his country. This fatal event must have worked upon a constitution already worn down by age and labour. On the 19th of October, 1657, he was seized with a pain in his head and a distillation, which terminated in a catarh attended with an intermitted fever; and on the 18th of the following November he died in his favourite Convent of St. Isodore, in the 70th year of his age. His remains were deposited in the Church of St. Isodore, at the corner of St. Anthony's Chapel, towards the high altar; and a sumptuous monument was soon after erected to his memory by his learned and valued friend the Advocate, Hercules Ronconio.*

* On the monument erected to the memory of Luke Wadding was the following epitaph :

D. O. M.
 R. A. P. F. Lucæ Waddingo Hiberno,
 Viro Erudito,
 Virtutibus Ornato,
 De Ecclesia, Religione, et Patria
 Bene Merito,
 Lectori Jubilato,
 Totius Ordinis Minorum Chronologo,
 Patri, Ac Fundatori
 Optimo, Et Amplissimo
 Collegium Moerens Posuit,
 Ære D. Herculis Ronconii
 In Urbe Advocati
 Ejus Veri Amici.
 Obiit
 XVIII. Novembris, M.DC.LVII.
 Ætatis LXX.

It now only remains to present to the reader a catalogue of the works either written or published with annotations by this learned man:

1. *Acta Legationis.* 2. *Opera de Immaculata Conceptione Beatæ Mariæ, Virginis.*—Romæ, 1655. 3. *De Baptismo B. Mariæ Virginis.*—Romæ, 1656. 4. *De Redemptione B. Mariæ Virginis.*—Romæ, 1656. 5. *De Mente SS. Patrum circa immunitatem Virginis a peccato Originali.*—Romæ, 1656. 6. *De Scriptoribus et Martyribus Minoritis.*—Romæ, 1650. 7. *De Oculo Morali; illustrated with Scholia.*—Romæ, 1655. 8. *Opuscula S. P. Francisci.*—Lib. Tres.—Antwerpiæ, 1623. 9. *Vitæ Pontificum et Cardinalium; a Ciaconio; amplificatæ.*—Romæ, 1630. 10. *Concordantiæ Hebraicæ* (in four tomes); a Calasio; illustrated with a preliminary dissertation by Wadding, entitled *De Hebraicæ linguæ Origine, præstantia et utilitate.* 11. *Commentaria Angeli de Paz; cum illustrationibus.*—Romæ, 1623. 12. *Concordantiæ Biblicæ S. Antonii.*—Romæ, 1624. 13. *Promptuarium Moralis Sacræ Scripturæ.*—Romæ, 1624. 14. *Vita B. Petri Thomasii Carmelitæ, Patriarchæ Constantinopolitanæ.*—Lugduni, 1637. 15. *Vita et Res gestæ B. Jacobi Piceni; commentariis illustratæ.*—Lugduni, 1641. 16. *Commentaria ad Vitam et Opuscula S. Anselmi, Episcopi Lucensis.*—Romæ, 1657. 17. *Apologeticum de Pretensu Monachatu Augustiniano.*—Romæ, 1650. 18. *Francisci defensi Apologetica contra Thomam Herreram.*—Romæ, 1650. 19. *Omnia Opera Scoti; cum eruditis commentariis et Vitâ Scoti* (sixteen volumes, folio).—Lugduni, 1639. 20. *Annales Minorum, Seu Trium Ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum* (eight volumes, folio).—Lugduni et Romæ, 1625, 1654.

The following works from the pen of this extraordinary man remained in manuscript, but it is probable had never been published:

1. *Vitæ et Res gestæ Clementis VIII, Leonis XI, Pauli V,*

Gregorii XV, Urbani VIII, Innocentii X et omnium Cardinalium ab iis creatorum. 2. Vitæ Sanctorum Ecclesiæ Urbinetanæ, cum Notis. 3. De insigni pietate Urbinatum erga Minores. 4. Epistolarum Selectarum.—Lib. I.

In his collection of papers, an immense mass of materials were found for an intended history of all the general chapters of the Franciscan order, with all their statutes and some of their provincial ordinances. To this was to be appended a voluminous record of all the works of the ancient Fathers of the Franciscan order which never had been published or which had been scarce. He had it likewise in contemplation to produce a general history of Ireland and the annals of the bishoprics of the whole Christian world; containing the origin, proceedings and laws of all churches; the constant succession of their bishops; their memoirs; their perpetual universal coherence in one doctrine and their undivided obedience to one head, the Apostolic See.* But the multiplicity of business in which he had been engaged accompanied with the natural infirmities of old age unfortunately prevented him from executing these noble designs.† His works have been admired by the friends of literature in every nation over the Christian world, in consequence of their perspicuity, the purity of the diction, but above all, their accuracy.—Mortification, humility and perseverance marked his career through life, and his death resembled that of a saint.

• Ex. Vita ab F. Haraldo Annal. Min. Tom. I.

† This observation may be confirmed by the beautiful and pathetic language of Father Wadding himself in his peroration to the eighth tome of his Annals, and which, out of sincere respect for his memory, we shall here transcribe :

“Tandem post tot annorum velificationes, valissimi maris agitatus procellis, quassatæ navis cogor vela colligere, et projecta anchora in portu requiescere.—Gravis jam premit Senectus, et in effæto corpore Spiritus pridem promptus nunc cæpit languere, ac circumdantibus undique negotiorum pressuris se demum impari agnoscit. Tempus itaque est, ut ab omnibus me prorsus expediam, suspensioque calamo illud unum agam, quod potissime necessarium est, animæ scilicet procurandæ totus incumbam, ab æruminosæ vitæ procellis ad portum religiosæ quietis accedam, pacatque animi fidæ me stationi committam.”

JOHN COLGAN, the learned compiler of the "*Acta Sanctorum*," or lives of the saints of Ireland, was contemporary with Wadding and a native of the County of Donegall.— Having embraced the Franciscan institute and completed his studies in the College of St. Anthony at Louvain he succeeded the celebrated Hugh Ward, both in his office as lecturer of divinity and in his laborious antiquarian pursuits.— Colgan was deeply versed in the language and antiquities of his country and had, even before his departure from Ireland, contemplated a revision of the national records, especially that portion of them which embraced the hagiology of his illustrious forefathers. An opportunity attended with considerable advantages was now happily afforded him, while the peaceful retirement of his cloister and the encouragement which he was sure to meet with in Louvain had contributed as a still further stimulus to his exertions. On the death of Hugh Ward in 1635, the immense piles of manuscripts which that great man had in his possession together with those which had been collected by O'Clery and Fleming were all carefully secured and committed to the management of John Colgan. With these materials which were sufficiently ample and which had been partly arranged by his predecessor, Colgan proceeds to put his religious and noble designs into execution. Agreeably to his original intention, he proposed to publish a general synopsis of the ecclesiastical antiquities of Ireland; secondly, the acts of Sts. Patrick, Brigid and Columbkille; and thirdly, the acts of all the other saints of Ireland in chronological order. This last work he purposed to divide into four parts, each part comprising the festivals and hagiology for three months. The first part, containing the acts of the saints for January, February and March, was accordingly published in two folio volumes, and was entitled "*Acta Sanctorum Veteris et Majoris Scotiæ Seu Hiberniæ, Sanctorum Insulæ, partim ex*

variis per Europam M. S. Codd excripta, partim ex antiquis Monumentis et probatis Authoribus eruta et congesta.”—Lovanii, 1645. The remaining parts of this work, enriched with notes critical and topographical and with large and complete tables, had been prepared for the press* when the death of the author prevented their publication.

In 1647, Colgan completed and edited his favourite and long intended hagiology of the three principal patron saints of Ireland. It came from the press in the commencement of that year at Louvain, digested in two exceedingly large tomes, under the title “*Triadis Thaumaturga; Seu Divorum Patritii, Columbæ et Brigidæ, trium Veteris et Majoris Scotiæ Seu Hiberniæ, SS. insulæ communium Patronorum Acta.*” In this work, Colgan presents seven lives of St. Patrick, five of St. Columba and six of St. Brigid, with elucidatory notes and appendixes.

The unwearied research of this eminent man had contributed to shed a new ray of light on the sacred antiquities of this country; his commentaries and scholia have been justly admired and have formed an excellent precedent for the hagiologists and other religious writers of modern times.—John Colgan died at Louvain, A.D. 1658. Besides the works already noticed, he has published a treatise entitled “*Tractatus de Vita, Patria et Scriptis Johannis Scoti, Doctoris Subtilis* (octavo),—Antwerpiæ, 1655; “*Sacrarum Hiberniæ Antiquitatum* (folio).—Lovanii, 1647. After his death several piles of his manuscripts remained at Louvain, among which were the following: one large tome consisting of eight hundred and eighty pages, folio, with the title “*De Apostolatu Hibernorum inter exteras Gentes, cum Indice alphabetico de exteris Sanctis,*” also a treatise “*De Sanctis in Anglia, in Britannia, Armorica, in reliqua Gallia, in Belgio,*” 1068 pages, folio. Likewise “*De Sanctis in Lotharin-*

* Wadding, de Scrip. Min. p. 210.

gia, in Burgundia, in Germania ad sinistram et dextram Rheni, in Italia," comprising 920 pages, folio. It does not appear that any of these had been published at any subsequent time; they may, however, be considered as invaluable, authentic memorials of the deep research of this laborious and learned antiquarian.

DANIEL O'DALY, or as he is usually styled "Dominicus de Rosario," from the name which he adopted in religion, was a native of the County of Kerry and was born in the year 1595. He retired at an early age to the Dominican Convent of Lugo in Galicia where he made his solemn profession, and afterwards completed his ecclesiastical studies at Burgos in Old Castile. He soon after returned to Ireland and remained for some time in his native Convent at Tralee. About this period (1624) the Irish Dominican College at Louvain had been founded; students in great numbers repaired thither from Ireland, and in a few years it became an establishment of great importance and celebrity.* In compliance with the directions of his provincial Father Nicholas Lynch, O'Daly proceeded to Louvain, where he was received with great respect and constituted a lecturer in divinity. His

* The Irish Dominican College at Louvain (Cœnobium S. Crucis,) may be said to have been founded A.D. 1624. The learned Thaddæus O'Duan, Provincial of that Order in 1608, had, by his unwearied exertions, obtained a domicile for Irish Dominicans at Louvain. It does not appear, however, that any Dominican students from this country had been placed there, until 1622, under the provincialship of the venerable Father Roche Mac Geoghan, an Alumnus of Mullingar.—The students at that period continued to reside in a house which had been obtained at an annual rent, until 1624, at which time Richard Birmingham, of the Convent of Athenry, procured a church near the *Castrum Cesaris*, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, together with an adjoining establishment which had been previously occupied by the English Jesuits. Its first Rector was Oliver Burke, a native of Galway. By the exertions of the Provincial, Roche Mac Geoghan, it was soon after endowed by Philip IV with an annual pension of one thousand florins (an hundred pounds sterling), to be paid out of the treasury at Brussels; to which the Congregation de Propaganda Fide had, in 1660, annexed a second grant of one hundred and twenty Roman scuti, on condition that students would there be instructed and prepared for the perilous duties of the Irish mission.

learning enhanced by his virtues had already rendered him a general favourite, and being a man of singular prudence and address he was caressed by persons of the first distinction and especially by Philip IV, then King of Spain and Portugal.* These adventitious circumstances were soon rendered subservient to the interest of religion. O'Daly had long contemplated the design of establishing an Irish Dominican College at Lisbon: some considerable property had, it appears, been assigned for that purpose so early as the year 1615, but from some mismanagement these grants became virtually inapplicable and the intended foundation was accordingly neglected. O'Daly, therefore, repaired to Lisbon, accompanied by three eminent Irish Dominicans, and having obtained the assistance of the Portuguese Provincial and the patronage of the Archbishop Roderico de Cunha, he was put in possession of a small hospital situated in the street Rua Nova de Almada, near the King's palace, and was appointed its rector, A.D. 1634.† Here his exalted virtues were soon appreciated: he was held in great esteem by Margaret, Dutchess of Mantua, who had at that time been intrusted by her uncle, Philip IV, with the government of Portugal and would have laid the foundation of an extensive college were it not for the revolution of 1641, by which that country had been dismembered from the dominion of the King of Spain. On the elevation of the Duke of Braganza (John IV) to the throne of Portugal, Father O'Daly was nominated one of the Queen's confessors, and was so highly respected by the King that in 1665 he was sent as ambassador to Lewis IV, in order to treat of a league and affinity between the two crowns.‡

In the mean time the establishment in the Rua de Almada, although small, became exceedingly celebrated; it produced

* Baronius Apol. Lib. I. Sec. I.

† Hib. Dom. Chap. XII. p. 419.

‡ Biblioth. Dom. T. II.

several missionaries eminent for virtue and learning, among whom may be noticed the venerable Fathers Gerard Dillon, Miles Magrath, Æneas, Ambrose O'Cahil, Gerard Bagot and Thaddæus Moriarty, all of whom heroically sealed the faith with their blood during the awful persecutions of Cromwell. Under the auspices of the Queen, Lucia, and at the instance of Father O'Daly, the College of Corpo Santo, situated in the Largo di Corpo Santo, was founded on the 4th of May, A.D. 1659. The foundation stone was laid with unusual solemnity by the Bishop of Lamego, with an appropriate discourse from the eloquent Ferdinandus Suero; on which occasion Daniel O'Daly was constituted its first rector. By means of this laborious man, a convent, called the Bon Success, was also erected for Irish Dominican nuns in 1639, at Balem, a considerable fortress situated at the North of the Tagus and about three miles West of Lisbon. The reputation in which he was now held may serve to supply us with additional proofs of his profound humility: he was appointed to the Archbishoprics of Braga and Goa, but these metropolitan dignities he declined. At length yielding to the entreaties of his friends, and with a view of advancing the interest of his own establishment of Corpo Santo, he consented to undertake the government of the diocese of Coimbra. He was accordingly elected Bishop of that See, but before his consecration could have taken place he died in the Convent of Corpo Santo on the 30th of June, A.D. 1662 and in the 67th year of his age, after having governed that College and the former establishment with great applause for upwards of twenty-eight years.* Daniel O'Daly has published a work entitled "*Relatio Geraldinorum, ac Persecutionis Hiberniæ; Vel, Initium, Incrementum et Exitus Familiæ Geraldinorum, Desmonia Comitum, Palatinorum Kyerriæ in Hibernia, ac Persecutionis Hæreticorum descriptio,*

* Ex. Ulyssiponensis Collegii Archivo, ap. Hib. Dom. p. 418.

ex nonnullis Fragmentis collecta, ac Latinitate donata.”—Ulyssipone, 1655.

JOHN LYNCH (Gratianus Lucius) was born in the town of Galway, where he presided for many years over a celebrated literary establishment and contributed in no small degree to advance the interest of religion during these melancholy times. Having received his ecclesiastical education in France, he was ordained a secular priest and soon after returned to his native country. His zeal as a missionary was equalled only by the extent of his acquirements; after some time he was promoted to the dignity of Archdeacon of Tuam and ultimately became Vicar Apostolic of Killala. Inspired with an innate love for his country and being a perfect master of its language, Lynch applied himself with great success to the study of its antiquities. On this subject he had been frequently consulted by many of the learned men of those times, and particularly by Roderic O’Flaherty, the elaborate author of the celebrated “Ogygia.”* When Ireland had been distracted by the conflicting opinions of the advocates and opponents of the Nuncio, Archdeacon Lynch was doomed to remain an inactive spectator of these lamentable scenes. His own private opinion would appear, however, to express a disapprobation of the measures of the Nuncio, which from the commencement of the transaction he had regarded as unreasonable, impracticable and dangerous.

In all our ancient annals we find but a very imperfect record of the acts of this eminent man, who certainly has de-

* Plutarch, in his book “De facie in Orbe Lunæ,” has applied the term *Ogygia* (*perantiqua*,) to Ireland, in consequence of its great antiquity. It was a term frequently used by the poets of old when they intended to express any thing very ancient, and seems to have been derived from *Ogyge*, the name of an illustrious King of Thebes who flourished A.M. 2125. Hence Egypt, a country of acknowledged antiquity, has been often called by the name of *Ogygia*. Hence also, Camden, treating of Ireland in his *Britannia*, says, “Non immerito hæc insula (*Hibernia*) *Ogygia*, idest, *perantiqua* a Plutarcho dicta fuit. A profundissima enim Antiquitatis Memoria Historias suas auspicantur, adeo ut præ illis omnium Gentium Antiquitas sit Novitas et quodammodo Infantia.”

served well of his country and of religion. When the garrison of Galway had surrendered in 1652, John Lynch retired to France, where he wrote and published two works under the signature of "Eudoxius Alithinologus," the titles of which were, 1. "Veridica Responsio ad Invectivam, mendaciiis, fallaciis, calumniis et imposturis fœtam, in plurimos Antistites, Proceres et Omnis Ordinis Hibernos. 2. Supplementum ejusdem operis (quarto).—1664. This work was written for the purpose of refuting Father Farrell, a Capuchin, who in a book dedicated to the Propaganda had maintained that the Supreme Council should be re-established, and that no person, layman or ecclesiastic, should be allowed to take any part in its proceedings except such as had been descended from a Milesian stock or from the aborigines of the country. About the same time John Lynch published under the signature "Gratianus Lucius," his celebrated work entitled "Cambrensis eversus, seu potius Historica fides in rebus Hibernicis Giraldo Cambrensi abrogata." In this treatise the learned Lynch, after having presented to his reader a faithful developement of the antiquities of his country, grapples at once with his adversary, Giraldus Cambrensis, and exposes to public contempt the malevolent misstatements of that silly and shameless calumniator. John Lynch has also published a tract under the title "Pii Antistitis Icon: sive de Vita et Morti Rev. D. Francisci Kerovanii, Alladensis Episcopi."*—Octavo.—Mactovii. 1669.

NICHOLAS FRENCH, Bishop of Ferns and a distinguished member of the Supreme Council, was born in the town of Wexford, A.D. 1604.† Having completed his theological course in the Irish Secular College at Louvain, he was constituted President of that establishment and founded in it a Burse of one hundred and eighty florins annually for students

* Harris's—Ware Writers.—Hib. Dom. p. 11.

† Hist. of Remon. Part. II. p. 614.

belonging to his native diocess.* The exigency of the mission obliged him at length to withdraw from this favourite and justly celebrated retreat of literature. He returned to Ireland during the reign of Charles I and was appointed parish priest of the town of Wexford, where his talents and piety were simultaneously employed in soothing the sorrows and confirming the resolutions of an oppressed but determined people. The formation of the Supreme Council at Kilkenny in 1642 may be dated as the epoch at which the labours or rather the sufferings of this great man commenced. Although an ecclesiastic of the second order, he was elected a burgess by his fellow townsmen and deputed one of the principal representatives of their body in the National Council of the Confederates about to be convened in the early part of the following May. A similar spirit of enthusiasm animated the people of Ross, Enniscorthy and other towns; while it must be recollected that the County of Wexford alone guaranteed and actually paid to the treasurers of the confederated body no less a sum than three thousand pounds in one year; having, moreover, in their possession the fort of Duncannon, which in those days was considered impregnable, together with the fortified towns of Wexford and Ross.†

With the character of Nicholas French, the court of Rome had been long since acquainted. The see became vacant about the year 1643, and to the universal satisfaction of the diocess and indeed of the kingdom he was elected and consecrated its bishop. This Prelate, whose concern for his country was surpassed only by the love which he bore for its religion, continued to take an active share in the deliberations of the first Supreme Council, until the temporizing majority of that body disgraced themselves and in the midst of victory abandoned their principles by an interested sub-

* Hib. Dom. Chap. XVII.

† Hist. of Remon. Part II, p. 615.

serviency to the political conditions of Ormond. When the terms of the cessation had been ratified by the Supreme Council, and the consequent ecclesiastical congregation had been convened by the Nuncio at Waterford, Nicholas French was appointed its chancellor, with full powers to arrange and put into execution the appointed ordinances of that assembly. The spirited part which he had now taken in these public proceedings added considerably to his popularity, and he soon became a leading character in the new confederate council which had been formed by the Nuncio. He was intrusted with a commission to proceed to Rome and solicit the assistance of Innocent X; while at the same time the Marquis of Antrim, Viscount Muskery and Severinus Brown were despatched to the Queen and to the Prince of Wales, then residing in France.* The mission of Nicholas French, although executed with singular fidelity, ended in a complete failure: no assistance could be obtained, and after an absence of two years he returned home only to witness the still more lamentable distractions and multiplied miseries of his country. Just on his arrival, in 1648, the Supreme Council had concluded a treaty of peace with Inchequin, while the whole nation was rent asunder by the conflicting opinions of the people and the necessarily consequent disasters of war. The confederates had by this time been brought to the very verge of ruin; those towns and fortresses, which they had for years in their possession, were all torn from them; one defeat was followed by another still more disastrous, and to complete the terror of the scene the Nuncio with his followers at Galway was employed in fulminating excommunications against the Council, while that body and the great majority of the representatives were with equal firmness setting the dignitary and his censures at open defiance. In this state of affairs Nicholas French considered

* Philop. Iren. Lib. I. Chap. VII.—ap Hib. Dom.

it more prudent to yield to the circumstances of the times and adopt that line of politics which he conceived would be most practically beneficial to his country. He accordingly agreed to the peace of 1648 although it had been disapproved of by the Nuncio, and by his influence induced many to relinquish their prejudices and become satisfied with the same measure. For the purpose of reconciling the minds of the clergy with the proceedings of the Council, it was deemed advisable to summon a general meeting of that body: on this occasion the Bishop of Ferns presided; he analyzed and examined the question with impartiality, and in a strain of powerful language demonstrated that the peace then concluded was the only practical means by which the country could be saved from inevitable ruin. This peace proved, however, but a very ineffectual remedy for the evils of Ireland. In two years after, the country was reduced and covered with blood; while at the meeting of the bishops which took place at James's-town, in 1650, Nicholas French attended and signed the famous declaration condemnatory of the proceedings of Ormond.* With a view of creating a sympathy for Ireland, and having moreover received a commission for that purpose, he repaired to the Continent and after a perilous journey arrived at Brussels; from thence he proceeded to Paris, but his efforts to obtain assistance in either of these places were unsuccessful. Unable any longer to witness the desolation of his country he retired to Spain and became a suffragan to the Archbishop of St. Iago, in the province of Galicia. Had this unbending Prelate consented to receive the Valesian remonstrance his exile would at once have terminated. At the close of the year 1666 he proceeded to Paris, from which city he addressed a letter to Father Peter Walsh, in which he writes, "As soon as the intense heat of this summer will permit, I intend to give more copious rea-

* Hib. Dom. Chap. VII. p. 692.

sons why I cannot with quietness of mind sign the protestation as the Duke (of Ormond) requireth: I will also answer some parts of your letter which intrencheth much upon me. When this is done, the Duke will learn the motives which govern my mind: and seeing I cannot satisfy my conscience and the Duke together, nor become profitable to my flock at home, his anger not being appeased, you may know hereby that I am resolved after the summer to retire to Louvain where I began my studies, and there end my days. I shall thereby free his Grace from being troubled in my behalf and give myself a freedom from many personal afflictions which in Ireland good men must endure; but my heart shall ever have a share in their sufferings.”* The venerable exile accordingly withdrew to Flanders and soon after became coadjutor to the most illustrious D. Eugene Albert Dalamant, Archbishop of Ghent, in which city he died on the 23rd of August, A.D. 1678 and in the 74th year of his age. His remains were interred with becoming solemnity in the Cathedral of Ghent, and a splendid monument with an epitaph descriptive of his virtues, his learning and his patriotism was shortly after erected to his memory in the same Church.

Nicholas French has written: 1. A Narrative of the settlement and sale of Ireland.—Louvain, 1668. 2. The Bleeding Iphigenia; in vindication of the proceedings of the war and condemnatory of the peace of 1646. 3. The doleful fall of Andrew Sall from the Catholic and Apostolic faith, lamented by his constant and true friend.†—1674. 4. The unkind

* Hist. of Remon. Part II, p. 618,—Porter, p. 210.

† Andrew Sall, the individual above alluded to, was born at Cashel in the County of Tipperary. In 1639 he removed to Spain where he became a Jesuit and was afterwards appointed a professor of moral divinity in the College of the Jesuits at Salamanca. About the year 1673 he returned to Ireland and was constituted superior of the mission of the Jesuits in that country. Having soon after unhappily abandoned his faith, he embraced or rather pretended to embrace Pro-

Deserter of loyal men and true friends.—Paris, 1676. 5. Thirty Sheets of Reasons for not subscribing the Valesian Remonstrance. 6. A Synopsis justifying the war. 7. A Tract on the due obedience of Catholics. 8. A Tract entitled, Religion in England. 9. *Libellum Supplicem Clementi IX, cui subnectitur Elenchus D. Episcoporum Hiberniæ, qui residerunt in Ecclesiis Suis, Anno 1649, et exinde mortui sunt.* 10. *Lucubrationes Episcopi Fernensis in Hispania.*

PETER TALBOT, Archbishop of Dublin, was the son of Sir William Talbot and nephew of Colonel Richard Talbot, afterwards created Duke of Tyrconnel by James II. With an intention of embracing the ecclesiastical state he repaired to Portugal, where he became a Jesuit in 1635 and afterwards removed to Rome, in which city he completed his theological course. Here his talents and acquirements soon rendered him conspicuous; he was afterwards constituted lecturer of morality at Antwerp. During his residence in these countries about the year 1656, it is related that he received Charles II, then retired at Cologne, into the bosom of the Catholic Church; and that he had been accordingly commissioned by that Prince to proceed to Spain for the purpose of communicating the intelligence to the court at Madrid.* Peter Talbot afterwards came to England where he was appointed one of the Queen's chaplains and, in May 1669, was advanced by Clement IX to the See of Dublin.† The advocates of the Valesian Remonstrance, although discomfitted, were even at this period as clamorous as ever.—To this document Archbishop Talbot was opposed; he considered it rather a piece of state machinery than a fair and

testantism, and took up his residence in Trinity College: here he graduated, and as a further reward for his defection he was soon after nominated domestic chaplain to Charles II, and enriched with the prebend of Swords, the rectory of Ardmulchan and the chanorship of Cashel. He died in Dublin about the year 1682 and was buried in the Cathedral of St. Patrick.

* Carte, Vol. II, p. 172.

† Id. p. 384.

honest medium by which the feelings and loyalty of the priesthood of Ireland could be ascertained. During his incumbency he presided at two provincial synods, one in 1670 and the other in 1671; the statutes of which may be said to be included among those passed under Eugene Matthews in 1624.* This Prelate was a great favourite during the administration of the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Berkley in 1670. The intolerant spirit of former times was however revived: the popish plot was got up, while the Archbishop of Dublin was accused of having, contrary to law, an intention of introducing Catholics into the Common Council. To avoid the malice of his enemies he was advised to remove to Paris, from which city he addressed, in 1674, a most tender pastoral letter to the Roman Catholics of Ireland and particularly to those of the Archdiocese of Dublin. He returned to Ireland on the following year, but in 1678 was arrested at Malahide on a false suspicion of being concerned in the popish plot and was conveyed to Newgate. Here the venerable Prelate remained for two years, having been treated with great severity, until at length death put a period to his sufferings in the year 1680.† The works written by this learned Prelate are: 1. A Treatise on the nature of faith and heresy.—Antwerp, 1657. 2. The Nullity of the Protestant Church of England and its clergy.—Brussels, 1658. 3. A Catechism for Politicians, instructing them in divine faith and moral honesty.—Antwerp, 1658. 4. A Treatise on Religion and Government.—Ghent, quarto, 1670. 5. A Confutation of the principles of the Protestant religion, as maintained by Stillingfleet.—London, 1672. 6. An efficacious remedy against Arianism and heresy.—Paris, 1674. 7. The duty and comfort of suffering subjects, in a letter to the Catholics of Ireland.—Paris, 1674. 8. The history of

* Vide Cap. I et Constitutiones Provinciales Eccl. Metrop. Dub.

† Hib. Dom. p. 131.

the Iconoclasts, of Manicheism and Pelagianism.—Paris, 1676. 9. *The Friar Disciplined; or animadversions on Father Peter Walsh's new remonstrance, dedicated to Ormond* (octavo).—Ghent, 1674. 10. *Primatus Dubliniensis, Vel Summa rerum quibus innititur Ecclesia Dubliniensis in possessione sui juris ad Primatum Hiberniæ* (duodecimo).—Insulis, 1674.

The account which we have to give of some other ecclesiastical writers of this century must necessarily be limited. It is here merely presented to the reader as a grateful memento of their literary labours.

THOMAS MESSINGHAM, a writer of great authority, flourished in the seventeenth century. He was a native of Leinster, received his education as a secular priest in Paris, and afterwards became Apostolic prothonotary and rector of the Irish seminary in that city.* Messingham has written and published, 1. *Officia SS. Patritii, Columbæ, Brigidæ et aliorum quorundam Hiberniæ Sanctorum*.—Parisiis, 1620. 2. *Florilegium Insulæ Sanctorum, seu Vitæ Sanctorum Hiberniæ, cum tractatu de purgatorio S. Patritii* (folio).—Parisiis, 1624.

CORNELIUS DOVAN, a learned Franciscan, was born in Ulster and during the reign of James I became Bishop of Down and Connor. This venerable writer suffered martyrdom under Chichester in 1611.† He has written, "*Index Martyralis, sive Synopsis Martyrum Hiberniæ, qui suo tempore, quo persecutio sævissima in Catholicos efferbuit, pro fide occubuerunt.*"

MARTIN WALSH, a native of Waterford, embraced the Franciscan institute at Madrid and afterwards removed to Rome in 1625, where he became second lecturer of divinity at St Isidore's and subsequently its guardian. He was likewise rector of the Ludovisian Secular College and died at

* Mac Mahon's *Jus. Prim.* p. 651.

† Wadding, *Ann.*

Rome in the flower of his age, A.D. 1634.* He has written "*Parænesis Poetica in auspiciatissimum Septentrionalis Oceani Principis in Madriatensem Curiam ingressum.*"—*Madritii*, 1624.

ANTHONY HICKEY, an eminent Franciscan, was born in the County of Clare. He taught at Cologne and at Louvain, and afterwards became the first lecturer of divinity at St. Isodore's in Rome, whither he had been invited by his friend Wadding in 1625. He died in that college and was interred in its church, A.D. 1641.† His writings are, 1. *Expostulatus Bzovius; seu Nitela Franciscanæ religionis et abstersio Sordium, quibus eam conspuere frustra tentavit Abrahamus Bzovius.*—*Lugduni*, 1627. 2. *In quatuor libros sententiarum juxta mentem Scoti.*—*Lugduni*, 1639. 3. *De stigmatibus S. Catherinæ Senensis.*—*Manuscript.*

HENRY FITZ SIMONS, a learned Jesuit, was born in the City of Dublin. His father, who was a merchant of considerable eminence and a Protestant, had him educated at Oxford where he distinguished himself about the year 1583.‡ He soon after travelled to the Continent, became a convert to the Catholic faith, and having studied under the learned Lessius was at length received and professed in the society of the Jesuits. After his return to Ireland in 1590 he held three public disputations with Usher; made many converts and was imprisoned in the Castle of Dublin where he remained for two years. Having recovered his liberty he removed to Flanders and from thence to Rome: at length, after a life of perils and sufferings he died a persecuted victim amidst the caverns of his native country during the awful period of 1643. Henry Fitz Simon has written, 1. *A Catholic confutation of Rider's claim of antiquity.*—*Rouen*, 1608. 2. *An answer to certain complaintive letters of an afflicted Catholic for religion.* 3. *Justification and exposition*

* *Biblioth. Scrip. Ord. Min.*

† *Id.*

‡ *Athen. Oxon. Vol. II, p. 45.*

of the sacrifice of the Mass. 4. *Britannomachia Ministrorum in plerisque fidei fundamentis dissidentium* (quarto).—Duaci, 1614. 5. *Catalogus Præcipuorum Sanctorum Hiberniæ* (octavo).—Leodii, 1619.

ROBERT CHAMBERLAIN, descended of an ancient family in the province of Ulster, was ordained a secular priest and graduated a doctor of divinity at Salamanca. He afterwards became a Franciscan and was appointed lecturer of theology in Louvain. The Primate of Armagh, Hugh Mac Caghwell, intended to have him as his successor in 1626, but the appointment of Hugh O'Reilly had been previously determined at Rome. He has published a treatise, *De Scientia Dei*. 2. *De futuris contingentibus*.

FRANCIS MATTHEWS, a distinguished Franciscan divine and an eminent canonist, was born in the City of Cork and in 1636 was elected guardian of St. Anthony's College at Louvain and finally Minister Provincial of his order in Ireland. He suffered martyrdom at Cork A.D. 1644. Francis Matthews has written under the name of Edmundus Ursulanus, "*Examen Juridicum Censuræ Facultatis Parisiensis latæ circa quasdam propositiones Regularibus Hiberniæ falso impositas*." Also "*Tractatus pro defensione privilegiorum S. Francisco et religioni ejus concessorum*."

PAUL HARRIS flourished about the same period. He was born in England, became a secular priest and was stationed on the mission in Dublin during the administration of Thomas Fleming. A report having been industriously circulated that the Archbishop, who was a Franciscan, had determined to remove all secular priests out of the City of Dublin; Paul Harris, assisted by a parish priest named Peter Caddell, came forward and vigorously opposed the Prelate. The dispute was conducted for some time with great warmth; Father Harris was at length suspended and received moreover an order from the court of Rome to quit the diocese of Dublin in a given time. On this occasion he published a work in

the shape of an admonitory caution to the Friars, intermixed with a copious vein of good humour and learning, to which he gave as a title "*Fratres Sobrii estote*," quarto. About the same time he published his "*Arktomatix*," or whip for the bear, against Francis Matthews of Cork, who in his *Examen Juridicum* had signed himself *Ursulanus*. In this work Paul Harris writes "*Anglus sum, sexegenarius sum, sacerdos sum*." 3. The Excommunication, published by the Archbishop of Dublin, Thomas Fleming, against the inhabitants of that city for hearing the Masses of Peter Caddell and Paul Harris, proved not only unjust but of no validity and consequently binding to no obedience. 4. The Exile exiled.*

PETER WADDING, having in 1580 departed from Waterford his native city, arrived at Tournay where he became a Jesuit. He taught at Prague and Louvain with considerable applause and died at Gratz in Styria in 1644.† He has written, *Brevis refutatio famosi libelli, cui titulus, Flagellum Jesuiticum*—Nissæ, 1634. 2. *Tractatus de Incarnatione Domini*—Antwerp, 1634. 3. *Tractatus de contractibus in genere et specie*. 4. *Tractatus adversus Hereticos*. 5. *Oratio Pragæ habita*—Carmina varia.

WILLIAM MALONE, a native of Dublin, after having repaired to Rome became a Jesuit in 1606. On his return to Ireland he was seized and imprisoned, but effected his escape to Spain and was appointed Rector of the Irish College at Seville.‡ He died in 1656 and has written "*A Reply to Usher's Answer about the judgment of antiquity concerning the Catholic religion*"—Douay, 1677.

JOHN PONCE (Poncius,) a learned Franciscan, was born in the City of Cork but completed his studies at Louvain. In 1625 he was invited to Rome by Father Wadding and became a Lecturer of Philosophy in St. Isidore's. He suc-

* Harris's Writers.

† Id.

‡ Biblioth. Script. Soc. Jesu.

ceeded Martin Walsh in the government of the Ludovisian College at Rome and was constituted Guardian of St. Isodore's.* John Ponce has written. 1. *Integer Philosophiæ cursus in tres partes divisus*—Romæ, 1643. 2. *Deplo-rabilis populi Hibernici pro religione, rege et libertate contra sectarios Angliæ parlamentarios depugnantis status*—Romæ, 1651. 3. *Bellingi Vindiciæ eversæ*—Parisiis, 1653. 4. *Cursus Philosophiæ ad mentem Scoti*—1653. 5. *Commentarii Theologici, quibus Scoti Questiones in libros sententiarum elucidantur et illustrantur*. 6. *De Doctrina S. Augustini et D. Thomæ*. 7. *Cursus Theologiæ juxta Scoti doctrinam*—Lugduni, 1667.

THOMAS CARVE, a native of the County of Tipperary, studied at Oxford; afterwards removing to Vienna he travelled over Germany and other countries during the war carried on by Augustus Adolphus. He died at Vienna in 1664 and has published "*Itinerarium T. Carve*"—also, "*Lyra Hibernica, de Exordio, nomine, moribus, ritibusque Gentis Hibernicæ—Et Annales ejusdem, Sultzbaci*, 1669.

JAMES ARTHUR, having retired from his native City, Limerick, repaired to Salamanca and became a Dominican in the Convent of St. Stephen. In this establishment he was constituted Lector of Theology, the duties of which office he afterwards discharged in the Convent of Coimbra. He died at Lisbon about the year 1670, and has published "*Commentaria in totam fere S. Thomæ Summam*," 2 vols.

ANTHONY BRUDIN, the celebrated author of the "*Passio Martyrum Hiberniæ*," flourished about the year 1670. He was born in the County of Clare, became a Franciscan and after having distinguished himself on various public occasions was at length appointed Lector of Divinity in the Irish Convent of the Immaculate Conception at Prague.† The works of this indefatigable writer are—*Æcodomia Minoritæ Scholæ*

* Script. Min.

Harris's Writers.

Salamonis, J. Duns Scoti; Sive Universæ Theologiæ Scholasticæ Manualis Summa—Pragæ, 1663. 2. Corolla; seu pars altera Manualis, complectens Tractatus de Virtute et Statu religionis, decimis, voto, indulgentiis, purgatorio, censuris, religiosorum exemptionibus et privilegiis—Pragæ, 1664. 3. Armamentarium Theologicum. 4. Propugnaculum Catholicæ Veritatis, pars prima Historica in quinque libros distributa, quarto—Pragæ, 1668. 5. Passio Martyrum, quarto—Pragæ, 1669.

JOHN BAPTIST HACKET, a native of Fethard in the County of Tipperary, embraced the Dominican Order in the Convent of Cashel and afterwards taught theology at Milan, Naples and Rome.* He died at the Convent of the Minerva in Rome, A.D. 1676, and has written *Controversorum Theologicum complectens omnes Tractatus Doctoris Angelici*, folio—Romæ—1654. 2. *Synopsis Theologica in Tractatum de Fide, Spe et Charitate*—Romæ, 1659. 3. *Synopsis Philosophiæ*—Romæ, 1662.

DOMINICK LYNCH, a learned Dominican, was born in Galway where he made his solemn profession and afterwards became a distinguished lecturer of theology in Spain.† He died at Hispalia, A.D. 1697—his writings are, *Summa Philosophiæ Speculativæ juxta mentem D. Thomæ*—Parisii, 1666. This work consists of four volumes. I. *Complectens primam partem Philosophiæ seu Dialecticæ*. II. *Complectens secundam partem, seu Logicam*. III. *De Prædicabilibus, Prædicamentis et de Posterioribus*. IV. *Complectens primam partem Physicæ Naturalis*, quarto.

IGNATIUS BROWN was born in the County of Waterford, but received his education in Spain where he became a Jesuit. He spent several years on the Irish mission and died at Valladolid, A.D. 1679.‡ He has published, 1. *The Unerring and Unerrable Church*, in answer to a sermon preached by

* Echard, T. ii. p. 579.

† Id.

‡ Harris's Writers.

Andrew Sall, in Christ Church. 2. An unerrable Church or none. 3. an invaluable tract entitled "Pax Vobis."

FRANCIS O'MOLLEY, a native of the King's County, embraced the Franciscan institute and became a lecturer of divinity in St. Isodore's. He has written *Sacra Theologia—Romæ*, 1666. 2. *Grammatica Latino—Hibernica compendiata*.

FRANCIS HAROLD, to whose antiquarian researches this country is considerably indebted, was a nephew of Father Luke Wadding, and having entered the Franciscan Order at Prague became a lecturer of divinity in the Convent of the Immaculate Conception in that city. He afterwards removed to Rome and was appointed librarian in St. Isodore's where he died A.D. 1685. He has published "*Compendium Annalium Minorum*," which with a continuation of them he comprised in two volumes, folio.—*Coloniæ*, 1658. He also continued the "*Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*," and has written an accurate and comprehensive life of Luke Wadding,* also "*Lima Limata Conciliis*."

RICHARD ARCHDEKIN during the memorable period of 1642 retired from his native county, Kilkenny, and became a Jesuit at Mechlin in Brabant. He afterwards taught philosophy and divinity at Louvain, and died at Antwerp, A.D. 1690.† He has written, 1. *Præcipuæ Controversiæ fidei ad facilem methodum redactæ*. 2. *Vitæ et Miraculorum S. Patritii Epitome*. 3. *Theologia Tripartita Universa—Antwerpia*, 1682.—Eight volumes, octavo. 4. The lives of Peter Talbot and Oliver Plunket. 5. On miracles performed by the relics of St. Francis Xavier in the College of the Jesuits at Mechlin, written in English and in Irish.

BONAVENTURE BARON, a native of Clonmel, was nephew to Luke Wadding and became a Franciscan in Rome. He was afterwards constituted lector of divinity at St. Isodore's

* See *Annal. Min. T. I.*

† *Harris's Writers.*

where he died at a very advanced age, A.D. 1696.* His writings are, 1. *Prolusiones Philosophiæ*. 2. *Orationes Panegyricæ*.—Romæ, 1643. 3. *Metra Miscellanea*. 4. *Ob-sedio et expugnatio arcis Duncannon sub Thoma Prestone*. 5. *Scotus Defensus*. 6. *Controversiæ et Stratagemita*. 7. *Epistolæ familiares Paræniticæ*. 8. *Opuscula Varia*. 9. *Theologia Universa* (in six volumes).—Parisiis, 1676. 10. *Johannes D. Scotus de Angelis defensus*. 11. *Annales Ordinis SS. Trinitatis, Redemptionis Captivorum*.—Romæ, 1686.

The seventeenth century forms one of the most important as well as the most awful epochs in the annals of the Church of Ireland. It is very remarkable that the character of religious innovation, whether in the primitive ages of the Church or in modern times, has been invariably the same; and it is held up to the world encompassed with all those marks which render it odious to heaven and hateful to man, among which the heinous crimes of plunder, blood-shed, and anarchy are to be seen in the foreground. When Henry VIII and Elizabeth had attempted to force religious novelties on the people of this country, the scenes which then took place were tragical enough; a greater variety of characters was, however, required for the full developement of the piece: in the seventeenth century they appeared in abundance, while Ireland, the unfortunate theatre on which they figured, was soon made to overflow with deadly torrents, the waters of which have not been exhausted even at this present day. These observations are, indeed, awfully illustrated by the whole series of historical events contained in the foregoing chapters; their truth was never yet questioned by any honest, impartial writer; and while the deeds which were perpetrated had been lamented by all, there could no one be found so utterly bereft of all natural feelings as to think of entering upon their justification. We shall not,

* Ex Archiv. S. Isodore, Arm. VIII.

therefore, continue to dwell longer on these scenes; but rather take the opportunity of offering a few brief remarks on such of the other events of this century as have given rise to a diversity of opinion among contemporary or subsequent writers.

The conduct of the Supreme Council in consenting to the treaty of Ormond and that of the Nuncio in rejecting it and at the same time separating himself from that body form a subject on which historians have not been found to agree.—Some of those, contemplating the bold position which the confederates had at that time sustained, are willing to throw the whole blame of these proceedings on the Supreme Council; while others, with equal earnestness, appear to advocate the conduct of that assembly and become as severe as they are unsparing in their censures on the Nuncio. The truth might, perhaps, lie as a medium between these two opinions. Scarcely have we ever witnessed an occurrence of this nature, without some error having been committed on both sides.—It certainly does appear that the Supreme Council had taken a wrong step; while on the other hand it is equally clear that the Nuncio had acted with an imprudence the most mischievous and fatal, and for which no possible remedy could afterwards be discovered. The Supreme Council—the whole confederate body bound themselves by a solemn oath, never to lay down their arms until they had seen their religion on a full, free and secure basis. Now it is certain that Ormond offered them no such desideratum: he annulled the solemn and perfect treaty which had been entered into with Glamorgan, and in its stead substituted a mere, empty, political bubble; he gave them temporary toleration, artfully coupled with a restitution of property to such of the nobility and gentry as had suffered during the confiscations of the late reigns. Were terms such as these sufficient to satisfy a nation of conquerors? with the whole country in their hands—their enemies split into parties—England and Scot-

land rent asunder between the supporters of Charles and the fanatics thirsting for his blood. Had the Supreme Council stood firm, it is more than probable that at that very time a period would at length have been put to the miseries of Ireland, civil rights would have been conceded to the Catholics, their religion allowed to flourish as in days of yore and the empire saved from the eternal disgrace of having the scaffold flowing with the blood of the sovereign.

The Supreme Council, or rather the aristocratic portion of it, were, by their interested servility, guilty of a high crime against the nation; the imprudent conduct of the Nuncio was still more criminal. Unity is always and in all cases the certain forerunner of success; but if once the spirit of dissention be allowed to enter, the catastrophe may be expected immediately after. What good did the Nuncio effect by assembling the clergy at Waterford, imprisoning the members of the Council and fulminating his censures? He realized the anticipations of Ormond and made the breach wider; one defeat was followed by another in frightful succession, until the whole bulk of his resources became a wreck and he was driven to the necessity of taking refuge in the town of Galway. His claim for the restitution of ecclesiastical property was fair, but it could well be dispensed with. Had the Church property, secular as well as monastic, been restored, the clergy would have obtained nothing but what they had a right to; but it must at the same time be recollected, that religion can do very well without such an auxiliary, or call it by its proper term, an incumbrance.—Religion never flourishes so well as when, separated altogether from opulence, it is allowed to shine forth in the unmixed and heavenly effulgence of its own merits. If any portion of this property should be imperatively demanded, it ought to be that which had been left in trust for the hospitals and alms-houses of the country, or in other words for the benefit of the poor of Ireland; in place of which we are

now obliged to have *poor* laws and work houses, while the expenses thereof are thrown on the shoulders of an already tottering community. Had the Nuncio effected a reconciliation even at the period of the second peace, in 1648, there might have been some chance for the country; but he continued as inflexible as ever; unassisted by foreign friends, forsaken almost by all and driven to the very waves of the Atlantic, until the blood of Charles I at length completed the tragedy and Rinuccini was obliged to return without success to his native land. It is but fair to add, that throughout the whole of these proceedings this extraordinary man displayed a truly upright and heroic intrepidity, and had he arrived in Ireland but six months sooner, there is reason to believe that the independence of the country and of its religion would have been established for ever.

On the subject of the Remonstrance of 1666 there appears also some diversity of opinion both among the writers of that time and those of the present day. This Remonstrance is, in fact, substantially the same as the oath of allegiance taken at present by Catholics; it is also the very same in substance with the Remonstrance which had been presented by the Irish clergy assembled at Dublin during that period. But Ormond as well as his agent, Peter Walsh, intended to create a division among the clergy; expressions of an insulting nature were, therefore, artfully introduced in the body of the document and the whole scheme was in consequence most deservedly exploded. Allegiance to the ruling power is a duty inculcated by the Catholic faith; but in professing that allegiance no man is at liberty to insult another, much less the sacred and venerable head of his Church.

One grand feature is to be found in the events of this century, which might be very properly denominated "a practical lesson for tyrants." Laws unparalleled in the annals of barbarism were enacted and enforced for the purpose of crushing for ever the education and literature of the

country. But they all most fortunately met the very fate which they deserved. Irish students in vast multitudes flocked even to the most remote regions of the Continent of Europe, proclaiming as they went along the eternal infamy of their persecutors, and by their writings as well as by their numbers confirming the observation "that truth never flourishes so well as when it is oppressed." Such is the fact and such is the moral which this century unfolds.— Let it be hoped that the lesson may not be thrown away in vain.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Sufferings of the Church of Ireland during the reign of Queen Anne—Registration of the Catholic Clergy—Awful state of the Irish Church on the accession of George I—Epistle of the Archbishop of Cashel to Clement XI—Intolerance of the Protestant Primate, Boulter, under George II—Epistle of Benedict XIV to the Catholic Hierarchy of Ireland—General Persecution of 1743—Hamilton's Registration Bill defeated—Formation of the Catholic Committee—George III—Exertions of the Catholic Bishops in arresting the progress of Whiteboyism—Death of Father Sheehy—Revival of Catholic Education—Foundation of the Colleges of Carlow and Maynooth—Transactions of 1798—Surrender of the Legislature of Ireland and of her National Independence.

On the death of William III, in 1702, Anne, daughter of James II, ascended the British throne. Conscious that the security of her title rested on anti-Catholic grounds, whatever direction the current of state parties should happen to take, she was sure of being carried along with it: at one time the Tories ruled, at another the Whigs maintained the ascendancy; but whether Whig or Tory had preponderated in the political balance, the Catholics of Ireland were equally doomed to suffer. The Penal Code had now grown to such magnitude that it became unwieldy and even disgusting to many of those who had been intrusted with its execution; on the other hand the Catholics, whose extermination had been

long since anticipated, were seen to multiply, while the hatred of their enemies appeared to be redoubled in the very same ratio. In accordance with this feeling the Whigs in 1703 introduced into the Irish House of Commons a measure which even in the absence of every other penal enactment might be properly termed a compendium of all legal oppression; it was entitled "a bill to prevent the further growth of popery," and was at the same time presented to Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with a prayer that it might meet his support and recommendation. Ormond entered warmly into the views of the petitioners; the bill received his decided approbation, and although the sacramental test clause had been thrown in as a dead weight, Presbyterians as well as high-churchmen gave it their support: it passed the Commons and obtained the royal assent on the 4th of March, 1704. In the execution, however, of this measure, a variety of impediments presented themselves; the assistance of the public informer could not well be dispensed with, while the co-operation of an unfeeling magistracy was perhaps still more indispensably demanded. With a view, therefore, of removing that national and natural indignation which must always pursue the former class, the Commons resolved "that the prosecuting and informing against papists was an honourable service,"* and lest any of the feelings which belong to our common humanity should make their way to the magisterial bench, it was in like manner resolved "that all magistrates who neglected to execute these laws were betrayers of the *liberties* of the kingdom."†

That the Act already noticed might become a productive instrument, it had been doomed, even before its birth, to have it in the first instance levelled against the clergy. It was accordingly accompanied by an act of registration, agreeably to which each secular priest in the kingdom was re-

* Com. Journal, v. 3, f. 319.

† Id. f. 289.

quired to appear at the Quarter Sessions to be held after the 24th of June, 1704, and there register the place of his abode, his name, age, and parish, also the date of his ordination, the name of the prelate from whom he had received orders, and give security for his constant residence in the district assigned him; should he presume to keep a curate, he was liable to the penalty of transportation and of high treason in case of return. In the mean time all bishops, vicars general, secular priests not registered, and regulars of every order were subjected to the statute of the 7th of William III,* and compelled to quit the kingdom. The deadly object of such a measure must appear obvious: on former occasions, for want of sufficient evidence, it was sometimes found impossible to convict a priest, whereas now they had but to evoke the storm and their victim stood before them adjudged by his own written acknowledgment. This registration was executed according to counties, while the number registered throughout Ireland amounted to 1080.† Notwithstanding all these precautions, the bill “for the further growth of popery” manifested such symptoms of imbecillity, that nothing was heard but complaints and lamentations from every man who had submitted himself to the disgrace of being in any manner mixed up with it.—Many of the bishops, vast numbers of the secular clergy and almost the whole body of the friars continued with unbending firmness in the kingdom: they retired to those asylums which nature had prepared for them and to which they had been long accustomed—to the caverns of the mountain and to the wild, impassible morasses of the country. Such as had submitted to exile found immediate protection in the generosity of other nations and ere long were favoured with opportunities of returning in disguise to their native land. The picture which Ireland exhibited under

* See Cent. XVII. Chap. 1.

† Hib. Dom. c. viii. p. 157.

the Tory administration of Queen Anne was awful enough, it was, however, considered capable of a darker shade; it remained for the Whig government under the Earl of Wharton to complete the terror of the piece. In the speech of that Viceroy to the Parliament of 1709 he worked upon the passions of the House by malicious references to the numerical strength of the Catholics, by exhibiting them as a disloyal and treacherous people, and by denouncing the existing laws as insufficient to attain the end contemplated—their total extermination.* To an assembly already prepared for measures of destruction this language was more than intelligible: the Commons accordingly resolved “that several popish bishops had lately come into the kingdom and by ordaining great numbers had presumed to continue the succession of the Romish priesthood, and that their return was owing to a defect in the laws.” A reward of fifty pounds was offered for the conviction of a bishop or other dignitary exercising jurisdiction and twenty for every regular: this money to be levied on the Catholics of the county in which the individual had been detected: in the meantime it was ordained that all popish school masters, ushers, or private tutors, should be subjected to the same penalties as the proscribed ecclesiastics. Nothing now remained to complete the barbarity of this code except the direct extinction of the registered clergymen; it was, therefore, ordained that before the 25th of March, 1710, each registered priest should present himself at the Quarter Sessions and there take the oath of abjuration, under a penalty of transportation for life, and of high treason if he should ever after presume to return to the country.† Out of one thousand and eighty registered priests, thirty-three yielded to the tempest and took the oath;‡ the remainder stood firm and set the terrors that surrounded them at defiance. During this awful crisis the unmerited

* Com. Jour. v. 3. p. 48. † 23 Sect. 8th Anne, c. iii. ‡ Hib. Dom. c. viii. p. 157.

sufferings of the Irish priesthood awakened the sympathies of many a benevolent and noble heart; but among all their benefactors, the name of John V, King of Portugal, deserves to be placed on eternal record. He received the proscribed exiles with the affection of a parent, felt for their sorrows, sheltered them from their oppressors, and supplied them with the means of a comfortable subsistence within his dominions. For these acts he received the congratulations of Clement XI, in a letter full of tenderness which that Pontiff had addressed to him through the agency of John Slyne, the expatriated Bishop of Cork, and of Anthony Carroll, a learned Dominican of the Convent of Lorragh.*

At the close of Anne's reign the politics of England underwent a complete revolution: the Whigs were thrown out of office and the Tories got the ascendancy. From henceforth the two parties assailed each other with rancorous animosity and in the violence and fury of the contest they both lost sight of the Catholics. Anne died on the 1st of August, 1714. She was the last and the worst of the Stuarts. From the moment they ascended the British throne, they became a degenerate, a selfish and an ungrateful family; they crouched to their enemies and forsook their friends, and nature seems to have forsaken themselves: Anne died without leaving an offspring to inherit her crown and dignity.

The accession of the house of Brunswick to the British throne relieved the public mind with the most favourable anticipations; if these had not been realized, that must be attributed rather to the bigotry of a self-interested faction than to any inherent disposition for intolerance on the part of the new sovereign, George I. Liberty of conscience had at the time been acknowledged in his German dominions, while the military profession, to which he had devoted no small portion of his life, must have contributed to render him an

* Vide Bullar. Or. Prædicat. T. VI. p. 465.

admirer of this noble and sacred principle. This Monarch had been scarcely seated on the throne when the hatred of a Whig administration was directed against the Catholics.— In 1715 the Scotch raised the standard of revolt in favour of the Pretender, and although the ranks of the insurgents had been composed chiefly of Presbyterians and that Ireland had at the time presented an universal calm, nevertheless the Catholics were marked out and pursued with the same rancour as if they had actually taken the field in support of the Scottish cause. In pursuance of an address from the Commons the Lords Justices issued orders for the apprehension of many of the Catholic nobility; at the same time the chapels throughout the kingdom were obliged to be closed, priests were seized in several instances on the very altars and hurried to prison, and the usual encouragement was held out to informers.* To the credit of these times, however, it must be observed, that this description of miscreants, usually termed *priest catchers*, were generally Jews, who pretended to be converts to the Christian religion, and some of them assumed even the character of the priesthood for the purpose of insinuating themselves more readily into the confidence of the clergy. The most notorious among them was a Portuguese Jew, named Gorzia: by means of this wretch seven priests had been apprehended in Dublin and banished the kingdom: of this number, two were Jesuits, one was a Dominican, one a Franciscan, and three were secular priests.† The persecution would, no doubt, have been conducted with more rigour, were it not for the public odium in which this infamous tribe had been held not only by Catholics but also by great numbers of high minded, benevolent Protestants; whenever these informers appeared in public they were sure to be received with marked execration; they were hooted and pelted in the very streets of the metropolis.

* Curry's Review, p. 252.

† Hib. Dom. Chap. VIII. p. 160.

The loyalty and peaceable demeanour of the Irish Catholics at length confounded their very enemies; that not one of them had been implicated in this insurrection was honourably attested and fully established by the Protestant Primate, Stone, in his memorable address to the House of Lords in 1762. While the Church of Ireland had been thus assailed by undisguised persecution, the French Jansenists were contemplating the overthrow of her orthodoxy by means of secret agents as well as by the circulation of books replete with their seductive but pernicious doctrines.* It was on this occasion that the Father of the Faithful, Clement XI, had been pleased to manifest an additional token of his solicitude for the spiritual security of the people of this country. Through the agency of Vincentius Santini, the Internuncio at Brussels, that Pontiff, in 1719, had an admonitory address transmitted to the Prelates of Ireland, cautioning them against the impending danger and at the same time signifying his wish of receiving from them some publicly avowed declaration of their acceptance of the constitution usually styled "Unigenitus."† The will of the Pontiff met with cheerful obedience, letters expressive of attachment to the holy See and of communion with the Church of ages were furnished on the part of each member of the Irish hierarchy; the import of these documents was substantially the same, for which reason it may be sufficient to present in this place a brief extract from the epistle which had, at this time, been addressed to the Head of the Church by the venerable and learned Archbishop of Cashel, Christopher Butler. This Prelate was a member of the Ormond family and was born on the 18th of January, 1673, in Garryricken, the princely residence of his ancestors in the County of Kilkenny. Having been ordained priest, he devoted several years to the duties of an arduous mission in Ossory,

* Petrus Pollidorus, p. 215.

† Vide Suppl. Hib. Dom.

his native diocese, and in October, 1712, was appointed to succeed Edward Comerford in the metropolitan See of Cashel. Over this diocese Christopher Butler presided for forty-five years: he died at West Court in the County of Kilkenny on the 4th of September, 1757, and was buried in Kilcash, the ancient cemetery of his ancestors. The letter already alluded to commences in the following words:

“Most holy Father—The most reverend and illustrious the Internuncio at Brussels, has signified to me, humble as I am, that your Holiness, out of your great zeal for religion, expresses a wish to receive from the bishops of Ireland some testimonial of their obedience to and observance of the constitution usually termed “Unigenitus.” To this most reasonable desire I am perfectly convinced that all and each of these prelates will accede, agreeably to that obedience which is due to the holy See and to your Holiness who so gloriously presides therein, and that among them not one shall be found who will not subscribe to the aforesaid most wise constitution without any tergiversation, cavil or mental reservation whatever. For although we are poor in this world, still are we rich in faith: if we be deprived of our episcopal revenues, we have not, however, forfeited that obedience which we are bound to yield to those who are placed over us: if we suffer under the sword of persecution, we shall never create a schism in the body of Christ, or to the utmost of our power allow it to be done. We may be despised and oppressed, but we will ever be solicitous to preserve with *you*, our Head, the *unity of spirit in the bond of peace*: in short, although we traverse the plains of our native land in distress and affliction, nevertheless there abide within us, even to this day, that fervent love and veneration towards the Mother and Mistress of all Churches and that desire to preserve all those divine rites, which more than thirteen hundred years ago had been established among our ancestors by that glorious Apostle, St. Patrick; whom your predecessor, St.

Celestine I, had commissioned to preach amongst them.— With justice do we glory in the fact, that among our predecessors in the hierarchy not one can be found who, in a matter of faith, has dared to manifest resistance to any constitution, decree or apostolical diploma. Moreover, were it necessary we have even additional motives in which to glory; inasmuch as neither by us, or by our clergy or by our people, have any of those profane and novel terms, *religious silence* or the *question of right and of fact* been adopted in contempt of the lawfully constituted authority; nor have those infamous books, which caused so much disturbance and scandal in Catholic countries, been known, unless perhaps by name, to the greater part of our nation. That love and reverence for the Roman Pontiff, which is the first sound that strikes our ears, which in infancy has been planted in our hearts and in a manner forms a component part of our nature, have long since banished these and such like novel-ties from our land.

“Instructed by apostolical documents and by the uninterrupted tradition of ages we are confident, most holy Father, that to you is committed the important charge of protecting the flock from the ravages of the wolf, of leading them into salutary pastures and of securing them from whatever may be noxious; a duty which by the aforesaid constitution you have admirably executed. That, therefore, no doubt may remain of the purity and integrity of our faith, we hereby give our assent in heart and in mind to that document and constitution, which about ten years ago your Holiness had thought proper to declare in your paternal letter to the Gallican clergy. This our mode of proceeding is in perfect accordance with the faith of our fathers and with the uninterrupted tradition of ages; it is the rule of the Irish hierarchy as well as of the other Churches of the Christian world, while on the other hand those convict themselves of having

deviated from it who refuse to subscribe to that most salutary constitution.”*

While the abettors of Jansenism had been thus timely defeated, the Irish Catholics, by reason of their numbers and persevering spirit of enterprize, began at length to acquire a share of influence, especially in the cities and commercial towns of the kingdom. Their rising importance excited the jealousy and fears of those who from their station should have been the unbiassed patrons of public merit, but with whom patriotism was merely a vague term, adopted sometimes for factional purposes and at all times for the attainment of their own monopoly and aggrandizement. To such impure, anti-national sources must be traced those disgusting clauses which had been devised by Irish legislators at the close of this reign—measures, at the bare mention of which humanity recoils, and which, although they had been accidentally defeated, must reflect eternal disgrace on the individuals by whom they had been contrived. The Penal Code had been already swelled to an awful magnitude, every means within the reach of the most refined cruelty had been put into operation, nevertheless leave was once more given for introducing into the House the heads of a bill for amending the Act already passed to prevent the further growth of popery. To this bill was appended a clause which would at once upset the credibility of the fact, were it not for the stern testimony of authenticated records. It proposed the castration of the Irish priesthood; a measure which was unanimously agreed to after a short debate and was ordered to be laid before the Lord Lieutenant with a prayer “that he would recommend it in the most effectual manner to his Majesty.” A memorial, however, was presented by an Irish agent to the Duke of Orleans, then Regent of France; through the mediation of that Prince it met with the fate which it deserved; it never obtained the royal assent.†—

* Ex MS. Cathed. Archiv. Ossor. et Hib. Dom. Suppl. p. 819.

† See Note to O'Connor's Ireland, p. 190.

Owing to the decay of agriculture to tithes and rack-rents, the three last years of this reign were marked by an almost continued and unprecedented famine; in the midst of these national calamities George I closed his mortal career; he died on the 21st of June, 1727, and was succeeded by his son, George II.

Although the great bulk of the population had even amid the terrors of death hitherto clung with an unshaken fidelity to the creed of their fathers, nevertheless the same noble testimony cannot be adduced with reference to certain branches of the aristocratic portion of the community. The eradication of the Catholic faith from the ranks of the nobility formed one of the capital objects which the penal laws had, at every state, contemplated. They debarred them from stations of emolument and dignity; they presented them to the view of their fellow subjects as a proscribed, stigmatized class, and at the same time beset them with all manner of allurements for recreancy; while that fortitude, for which their progenitors stood illustrious, unhappily forsook them: they yielded to the pressure of the storm and abandoned that faith which had once constituted the proud boast and glory of their ancestors. Such had been the case with many of our Irish nobility at this eventful crisis; it is, however, worthy of remark, that several of them, who submitted to a mere external adoption of Protestantism, had nevertheless taken care to retain Catholic priests in their mansions, who spent their days under the security of disguise and performed the duties of chaplains and tutors to their families. It was this lingering predilection for a religion which was never conscientiously abandoned, that first worked upon the prejudices and elicited the acrimony of the Primate Boulter, by whom the springs of government had been then regulated. That Prelate, by birth an Englishman and by education an anti-Irishman, seems to have taken a peculiar delight in sporting with the feelings of his fellow man, and of outraging all the

sacred rights of liberty of conscience. With a view of upholding his system of proselytism, he prepared the heads of a bill purporting to subject to the penalties of the Code all *converts* who should be convicted of bringing up their children papists: the measure passed without opposition while both houses presented a vote of thanks to his Majesty "for having returned the bill, as a happiness peculiar to that session."* The increasing mass of the Catholic population had been at times the subject of bitter reflection to the mind of Boulter. In a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury he states the numerical ratio of Catholics to Protestants as 5 to 1, although it is certain that in the year 1728 the population of Ireland amounted only to 1,700,000 souls, of which number 700,000 were Protestants;† while in 1731 the total number stood at 2,010,221, and of this mass 1,309,768 were Catholics and 700,453 were Protestants.‡ His love for exaggeration kept pace with his hatred for the Catholic clergy; he represents the number of priests then in Ireland at 3000, whereas if credit be given to the report laid before the Lords, in 1731, they amounted in that year only to 1445.§ All his efforts, however, to create alarms throughout England proved abortive, and this man, who from the station which he occupied should have been a friend to humanity, sunk at length into the grave without being able to leave any other memorial to posterity except those nurseries of vice and bigotry, commonly known by the name of Charter Schools!||

The spirit of intolerance had by this time been carried to the highest pitch, still some intervals of relaxation might elapse, of which the Catholics would gladly avail themselves by petitioning against the oppressions under which they

* Crawford's Ireland, Vol. II. p. 292.

† Anderson's History of Commerce.

‡ Hib. Dom. Chap. I. p. 28.

§ Lords' Journal, v. 3. p. 112.

|| Boulter's Letters, 1730.

laboured. It was on one of these occasions that a collection originated in the County of Cork, having for its object the defeat of a measure by which Catholics were to be prevented from practising as Solicitors. The whole sum collected did not exceed five pounds, yet a priest named Hennesy, who had been suspended for misconduct, accused Doctor M'Carthy, the venerable Bishop of Cloyne, with having raised this money by an order from the Pope for the purpose of upsetting the reigning family and of introducing the Pretender. The Bishop's papers were seized by Mr. Law, the Collector of Mallow, and were transmitted by him to the Speaker of the House of Commons: a committee having been appointed to examine them, it was resolved "that a fund had been established by the papists, through the influence of the clergy, detrimental to the Protestant interest; and that an humble address should be presented to the Lord Lieutenant, praying him to issue his proclamation and put the laws against popery into execution."*

Although the aspect of the times had been gloomy enough and as may be presumed the presence of the pastor was necessary for the security of the flock, yet, strange to say, a degree of remissness on the part of some of the prelates became at this time the subject of loud and serious complaint. It appears that many of the sees had for a considerable time been left without a residing prelate, and that the abuse from repetition was growing into a confirmed system. The complaints arising from this non-residence had at length reached the Holy See and produced the following beautiful letter addressed to the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland by that learned and venerable Father of the faithful, Benedict XIV.

"Venerable Brethren; Health and Apostolical Benediction—It has been to us a source of no small affliction to find, that among the bishops of Ireland some are so forgetful of

* Com. Jour. vol. vi. f. 183.

the cure of souls intrusted to their charge, that one, from the moment he undertakes the episcopal office, never after resides in his diocese; another, after having devoted scarcely a month to the concerns of his flock, retires into England and from thence into France, Belgium and Germany; while some are accustomed to visit their Church only once in the year, and that merely for a few days, as it were for the purpose of relaxation. Nor can we find words sufficiently strong to express the sorrow which this inexcusable remissness had occasioned. For what can be expected from this shameful non-residence but the certain calamity of the people and the eternal ruin of their souls? We know from experience that, even in Italy, ecclesiastical discipline, piety and morals must deteriorate should it ever happen that the bishop would remain long absent from his see; although in the same Italy there are not wanting vigilant pastors, zealous and learned ecclesiastics secular and regular, and Vicars distinguished for probity and knowledge, who could according to the extent of their powers supply the place of the Ordinary. What then is to be expected, what evils are not to be dreaded in a country where the clergy are but few in number, where Catholics must live among an heterodox people and where they are often persecuted by the very magistrates on account of their conscientious adherence to the religion of their fathers?

“Nor is there a necessity for instituting any new ordinance or punishment with a view to check this evil; whereas ye must be well acquainted with the positive and rigorous manner in which the sacred canons, the apostolical constitutions and especially the Council of Trent enjoin on all bishops the obligation of residing in their sees and of never being absent from the flock committed to their charge, unless in cases of very urgent necessity. We understand, moreover, that some of you have been already reminded of these things by our venerable brethren, the Cardinals of

Propaganda. Nor is this obligation of residing in the see complied with by those who intrust the government of their Church to a vicar or substitute, unless perhaps for a short time and urged by great necessity. It is indeed unnecessary to point out to men well versed in sacred literature, as ye truly are, the difference between what is termed material and formal residence. For who among you, venerable brethren, can be ignorant, that a bishop resides only materially in his Church, when neither by word or example he disseminates the word of God or calls back those who are wandering from the path of justice, when he affords no help to such as are in danger or protects the fold from the incessant ravages of the wolf; in all which protection and pastoral vigilance the nature of a real and formal residence most properly consists.—Verily we address men deeply skilled in human and divine truths, who know well that the salvation of souls is a divine work and that to feed the flock of the Lord is a task to be dreaded even by angels, whereas the Chief Pastor will one day demand their blood at your hands, if through your fault or negligence any of them should perish. Nor can any of you attempt to excuse yourselves on the ground that these souls had perished without your knowledge, or allege that such calamity had occurred during your absence and through the remissness of your vicar or substitute: for to each of you individually are these words of the divine oracle addressed—‘Attend ye, to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost has placed you Bishops to govern the Church of God, which he has purchased by his blood.’* To *you*, therefore, and not to *another* is the precept of feeding the flock directed: on you the eternal salvation of souls depends; a charge which ye have undertaken with all its responsibility. Wherefore to you must justly be attributed the want of the word of God, the neglect of the Sacraments, the corruption of morals and the lamentable destruction of all

* Acts, xx. 28.

those who are in ignorance and error. We, therefore, even with tears reflecting on all these things, admonish and implore you through the most tender bowels of Jesus Christ, whose Vicegerent on earth we, though unworthy, happen to be, that moved with pity for your own souls as well as for the souls of those committed to your care ye would in time put an end to these evils, reflecting deeply on that awful judgment which the Prince of Pastors will pronounce against those who preside over the Church and do not contribute to the salvation of his people. Place before your eyes that most glorious and, to you, domestic examples of those numberless saintly bishops, who, replenished with charity and with a burning love for the salvation of souls, rendered Ireland illustrious by their zeal for the Catholic faith, and exhibited it to the world as a land abounding in sanctity and religion. Recall to your minds that immortal Apostle of your nation St. Patrick, whom St. Celestine, our predecessor, sent amongst you, and in the history of whose apostolical missionary career this among other triumphs stands recorded, that Ireland, which had been hitherto the seat of idolatry, becomes at once universally and deservedly celebrated as an *Island of Saints*. Recollect St. Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh and Legate Apostolic of all Ireland, whose extraordinary zeal for the salvation of souls is thus most beautifully described by St. Bernard—‘This Pastor remained unintimidated, reflecting within himself how he might transform the very wolves into sheep; he admonished them publicly, he reasoned with them in private, he wept with them individually, at one time he treated them with rigour, at another with lenity, according as the nature of the case might seem to require; he traversed the city in quest of souls, anxiously desirous to gain them to Christ; he journeyed through the land from one extremity to the other, and in his progress collected even from an ungrateful people the full and abundant measure of the heavenly harvest. These journeys he per-

formed not on horseback but on foot, which alone is a convincing proof of his apostolic merits.' Thus writes St. Bernard. Moreover, revolve in your minds the disinterested life of St. Laurence, Archbishop of Dublin, whom descended of royalty our predecessor, Alexander III, selected in the Third Council of Lateran, as Legate Apostolic in Ireland, and whom Honorius III, also our predecessor, had afterwards solemnly canonized; you will then be sensible what great things this apostolic man has done and suffered for his flock. But were we to enumerate all the saintly men, Columbanus, Kilian, Virgil, Rumold, Gallus, and numberless others who conveyed the Catholic faith from Ireland into other provinces, or martyrs-like rendered it glorious by their blood, we should encounter a task which would far exceed the limits of this epistle. Let it suffice thus briefly to point out these few that ye may the more easily recall to your minds the religion and sanctity of your forefathers, together with the high solicitude which belongs to the episcopal dignity, and which has contributed to render these men both glorious and happy. That ye may, to the utmost of your power, walk in their footsteps is our repeated and earnest prayer to the Almighty. We have every confidence that you, influenced not so much by the terms of this paternal admonition as by the dictates of conscience, will from henceforward reside in your respective dioceses and make the arduous duty of feeding the flock the subject of your most serious meditations. But should any one of you by reason of old age or infirmity become really inadequate to the discharge of the pastoral duties, let him memorial us for a coadjutor and at the same time notify to us him whom he should consider qualified to undertake that office: as soon as we shall be made acquainted with his piety, his learning and other qualities requisite for the episcopal charge we will allow him to be advanced as coadjutor. Meanwhile we, with paternal love, impart to you our apostolical benediction.

"Given at Rome at S. Mary Major this 1st day of August, A.D. 1746, and in the first year of our Pontificate."*

During the greater part of this reign the history of the Irish nation presents little more than an almost continued succession of varied calamities. The year 1741 was ushered in by a dreadful famine; fluxes and malignant fevers prevailed, the streets and highways were covered with the bodies of the dead, while the number of those who perished by famine and pestilence had been computed at 400,000.† Scarcely had this awful visitation subsided when the rumour of an intended invasion by France under Mareschal Saxe in 1743 supplied the intolerants with new grounds for oppression. Inflammatory pamphlets issued from the press; the pulpit resounded with invectives against popery, and pastoral letters of a similar tendency had been circulated without number throughout every part of the kingdom: at one time the arrest of the Catholic clergy was demanded, at another the aggregated strength of the Code was to be brought into requisition, while a member of the Privy Council openly proposed an indiscriminate massacre of the Catholic population as the only means by which the safety of Church and State could be secured.‡ To satisfy this unnatural rage for human destruction, the proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant, Devonshire, appeared on the 28th of February, 1743; a reward of one hundred and fifty pounds was offered for the conviction of an archbishop or bishop; fifty pounds for the conviction of a priest, secular or regular, and two hundred pounds for the conviction of any person who should afford protection to a bishop, besides the premium already specified by law.§ The promulgation of this edict struck the nation once more with

* Vide Hib. Dom. Suppl. p. 830.

† Groans of Ireland, in Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. II.

‡ Curry's Review, Vol. II. p. 260.

§ Hib. Dom. p. 718.

dismay; Catholic chapels all over the kingdom were closed, and in the meantime the clergy were obliged to take shelter, some in the recesses of the mountains, and great numbers in the metropolis and other populous cities, where they found means of concealing themselves among the dense and obscure haunts of the poor. This is the period of which we often heard our fathers in the bitterness of their soul unfold many a melancholy and heart-rending narrative; when the divine mysteries were celebrated on the brow of the mountain, the unhewn rock serving as an altar and the canopy of heaven as a roof for the temple, and when some were obliged to be stationed as watchmen in the plains beneath while the great mass of the people congregated on the mountain were on bended knees offering up the Christian sacrifice to the God of heaven. Notwithstanding the opportunities of concealment which the large towns and cities afforded to the clergy, it became at length almost impossible to escape the vigilance of their pursuers. By means of an Alderman named Aldrich, several of these inoffensive men were in 1744 apprehended in Dublin, among whom must be noticed Nicholas English, a secular priest, attached to the parish of St. Paul; Dominick Kelly and Thomas Nolan, chaplains to the Dominican Nunnery in that city, and Michael Lynch, a Franciscan.—Nicholas English was arrested at the altar of the parish chapel of St. Paul while in the act of celebrating the sacred mysteries and was hurried off to prison: the others having been apprehended soon after were consigned to the same dungeon.* The spirit of the persecution continued thus unabated until at length an occurrence of a most appalling nature awakened the sympathy of some of the public authorities. John Fitzgerald, a priest from the diocese of Meath, attended by a most crowded congregation, happened to celebrate Mass in a house in Cooke-street which had been almost

* Hlib, Dom. p. 175.

crumbling into ruins: at the close of the sacrifice and immediately after he had given the blessing the loft gave way; the priest and nine of the congregation were crushed to death and great numbers were mortally wounded.* From henceforth the rigours of the Code, alike disgraceful to Christianity and civilization, appear to have been gradually mitigated: on the 17th of the following March, 1744, the chapels of Dublin were allowed to be opened, while a similar indulgence was soon after extended to the whole kingdom through the wisdom and humanity of that excellent viceroy, the Earl of Chesterfield.†

The repose, which the interest of the nation had so urgently required and which it actually did enjoy after the administration of Chesterfield, would have continued to dispel the miseries of a distracted country, had it not been interrupted by one of those political factionists who at all times are found ready to sacrifice public principle to the ascendancy of their own favourite party. Experience had long since demonstrated that the laws, which cast such a stain on the memory of Queen Anne, were in the worst of times unable to check the irresistible progress of Catholicity in Ireland, yet unaccountable as it may appear, these self-same statutes accompanied with clauses still more oppressive were once more submitted to the wisdom of the legislature, and an effort was made for their revival. The individual to whom the infamy of this odious measure must be attached, was James Hamilton, then Viscount Limerick. In the Parliament of 1756, he introduced a bill for a new registration of the Catholic clergy: only one priest was to be allowed for each parish; the nomination of his successor was to be vested in the Grand Jury with a veto in the Privy Council and the Lord Lieutenant; they were bound to inform of all priests, secular or regular, residing within their parishes; they were

* Hib. Dom. p. 176.

† Maty's Life of Chesterfield, Vol. I.

on no account to make proselytes; and all bishops, dignitaries and friars were to quit the kingdom. On the third reading it met with powerful opposition, particularly from Primate Stone, who in a speech of more than two hours poured forth such a display of upright and liberal principles as must reflect honour on his name. From among the Protestant hierarchy three archbishops and nine bishops voted against it; it was ultimately lost by a majority of two.* Notwithstanding this defeat, the same measure was introduced on the following year with some trifling modification in the oath to be taken by the registered clergy, when in despite of the Primate it passed the Lords, but the prerogative of the crown interfered and it was abandoned for ever.

At this eventful crisis, upon a gradual relaxation of the Penal Code, the light of religious liberty began at length to dawn upon the nation. To the exertions of that unwearied patriot, Doctor Curry, aided by Mr. O'Connor, Mr. Wyse and others, this country is indebted for the first struggle which had been made to burst asunder the chains rivetted by the oppression of centuries on an enslaved people. Animated by the growing spirit of toleration they convened their meetings generally at the Elephant Tavern in Essex-street, and formed a committee for the management of affairs composed of citizens and of the mercantile interest; the nobility and gentry having declined to take any part in their proceedings. The opening speech of George III, immediately on his accession to the throne in 1760, diffused an additional portion of vigour through the Catholic body: he announced himself "the friend of religious toleration and the guardian of the civil and religious rights of his subjects."† Impelled with feelings of deep gratitude the committee prepared an humble address expressive of their thanks and attachment to his Majesty, but the nobility and gentry, who had from the

* Hib. Dom. p. 722.

† Exshaw's Magazine, 1760.

commencement acted as a distinct body, refused to affix their names to it: they held their meeting at Trim and drew up a separate address. Both these addresses were, however, graciously received and immediately after were inserted in the London Gazette.

In consequence of a foreign demand for beef and butter in 1762, the decline of agriculture became so general that the greater and best portion of the country had been converted into pasturage; the humbler classes were driven to the alternative either of emigration or of fruitless labour in endeavouring without means to reclaim the waste and barren mountains of the country. In addition to this, the price of the common necessities of life had trebled within the last fifty years, while the ordinary amount of wages remained stationary; and to complete the climax of wretchedness, the exorbitant demands of tithe proctors and the unrelenting severity with which that impost had been exacted from the poor rose at length almost beyond the power of human endurance and in many places drove the peasantry into a state of actual desperation. They assembled in vast multitudes at night and being clothed in frocks were generally denominated "Whiteboys," they levelled inclosures, maimed the cattle of the opulent grazier and with implacable rancour wreaked their vengeance on the person and property of the tithe proctor. To check the career of these infatuated people, the clergy, even at the risk of their lives, interposed; the Bishops of Cloyne, Waterford and Ossory, where these tumults more generally prevailed, manifested by pastoral letters as well as by the announcement of the censures of the Church their abhorrence of these abominable proceedings,* while at the same time many of the rioters had, by the forfeit of their lives, made atonement to the outraged laws of their country. As had been the case in preceding

* Exshaw's Magazine, 1762.

times, persons were to be found base enough to put the most malicious construction on this popular excitement; it was denounced as a popish plot, as the forerunner of a French invasion, and as a preparatory movement for the reception of the Pretender. To impart some degree of currency to these inventions, it became necessary to implicate the clergy by singling out one of their body as a ringleader of the insurgents; accordingly Nicholas Sheehy, parish priest of Clogheen, in the County of Tipperary, was selected as a victim. This virtuous, tender-hearted man had already rendered himself obnoxious to some of the petty village tyrants with whom that part of the country then abounded—he felt for the sufferings of his people and often interposed as a mediator between them and their insatiable landlords.—Informations of being concerned in a conspiracy against the state were now laid against him, and a reward of three hundred pounds was offered by proclamation for his apprehension. Father Sheehy possessed at the time the means of effecting his escape, but conscious innocence naturally prompted him to seek for ample justification; he addressed a letter to Mr. Secretary Waite and proposed to surrender himself without delay, requesting at the same time that his trial might take place not in Clonmel, where the ends of justice were sure to be defeated by the malice of his enemies, but in the court of King's Bench, in Dublin. He accordingly proceeded on his trial in Dublin; the only witnesses appearing against him being a common prostitute, a street vagrant boy and a robber, all brought for the purpose out of the gaol of Clonmel! The prevarication of the witnesses being in accordance with their infamous characters was readily discovered by a Dublin jury, and Father Sheehy was honourably acquitted. Had he attended to the suggestions of his friends and quitted the kingdom on his releasement, this innocent man would not have been sacrificed to the insatiable resentment of his pursuers. Scarcely had he been settled in

his parish when he was again arrested for the pretended murder of an informer named Bridge; although it had been well known and was actually sworn on the trial that this individual alleged to have been murdered, had absconded from the kingdom some short time previously. A subsequent order for proceeding with the trial before a Clonmel jury was the sure indication that his doom had had been fixed; the same three infamous witnesses, whose testimony had been rejected in Dublin, appeared once more against him: upon their sole evidence he was convicted and sentenced to be hanged and quartered. From the public contemporary reports of this trial it would appear that all the regular forms of justice had been totally disregarded; the streets and avenues leading to the court were blockaded by a military force, every species of intimidation was employed to prevent his friends from coming forward, and to such an extent had this system of atrocious violence been carried that one of his witnesses, a gentleman of high respectability was even arrested while in the act of sustaining the innocence of this devoted man.* At the place of execution Father Sheehy made a solemn protestation of his innocence; he declared, as he was a dying man and about to appear before an all-seeing Judge, that he had never either by the distribution of money, by the sanction or tender of an oath or by any other means engaged any of the rioters in the service of the French King; that he had never received money from any foreign court for such a purpose, and that he knew nothing whatever of the murder of Bridge until he had heard it by public report throughout the country. Thus was this innocent victim immolated, while the visible vengeance of heaven overtook his persecutors even before they had closed their eyes on the scenes of this transitory world.

The system of Whiteboyism together with its frightful train

* Exshaw's Magazine for April and June, 1766.

of calamities would have been at once checked, had the causes from which it sprung been promptly and effectually removed; and indeed according as the legislature seemed disposed to bestow any share of attention to the wants of the poor or to redress any of the grievances under which they suffered, in the same proportion did these nocturnal movements cease and a comparative calm appeared to settle upon the nation. There was one grievance, however, which pressed with peculiar severity on the labour and pittance of the Irish peasant, and that was the tithe system. This burden had been permitted to continue without any diminution, and to render it still more insupportable the proctors, a class of men already detested, had by their extortions and cruelty brought down upon themselves the heavy vengeance of an irritated and oppressed people. Sometimes by means of legal terrors or through the interference of some humane and popular magistrate the public excitement might be tranquillized, but a repetition of tithe exorbitancy would immediately occur, and accordingly the work of desolation was renewed; thus had the state of society been convulsed during the greater part of this reign.

Various circumstances had now combined to render the Irish Catholics an influential body in the community; in number, wealth and intelligence they were rapidly progressing; their patience, perseverance and loyalty endeared them to many a benevolent and liberal Protestant, and while every honest man deprecated those tumultuary associations of Whiteboyism in which no respectable Catholic had been concerned, few there were who did not blend their sympathies with the complaints of an aggrieved people and maintain that the time had at length arrived when the name of religion was no longer to be placed as a barrier between man and his rights. This noble spirit of toleration was assuming fresh vigour at every step; the recognition of American independence and the energies of the Irish Volunteers hastened it to

maturity. Nevertheless the remnants of party feeling were not even yet banished from a land which nature had intended for a better destiny, and every foolish ephemeral symptom of local fermentation was seized upon and used as a pretext for intolerance.

During the year 1779, on the re-appearance of Whiteboyism in various districts of the South and particularly in the Counties of Tipperary and Kilkenny, the Catholic clergy interposed and at great hazard succeeded in subduing the spirit of these refractory desperadoes. In the discharge of the united duties of charity and patriotism, Doctor Troy, who had been then Bishop of Ossory, was eminently conspicuous. This venerable Prelate was born at Porterstown in the County of Dublin and at an early age repaired to Rome, where he embraced the Dominican institute and after some time became Rector of the College of St. Clement in that city. On the death of Doctor Burke, Bishop of Ossory,* in 1776, he was nominated by the Pope to the vacant see, and during the same year was consecrated at Louvain by the Archbishop of Mechlin assisted by two mitred abbots. Only three years had elapsed when the tranquillity of the country appeared to give way to the turbulence of former times; by pastoral letters as well as by the censures of the Church this excellent Prelate succeeded in restoring order. He continued in the administration of the Diocese of Ossory until 1786, when on the decease of Doctor Carpenter he was translated to the archiepiscopal See of Dublin.

The important position which the Catholic community had now attained, together with a gradual relaxation of the Penal Code, contributed at length to open those sources of domestic education which had been so long sealed against them. A college, intended for the education of Catholic youth, was erected on a most eligible site in the town of Carlow by the truly zealous bishop of the diocese, the Right Rev. Doctor Keefe, and was opened for the admission of

* See Chap. III.

pupils in 1793 under the direction of the late Very Rev. Dean Staunton. At this revolutionary crisis, when the altar as well as the throne was marked out for destruction, those foreign colleges which had been hitherto the resources of the Irish mission were completely deserted; for which reason it was deemed necessary to associate with the original object of this establishment the education of candidates for the ecclesiastical state. Among the first professors of the College of Carlow were the Abbés Noget, Chabout and Labruné, three talented French refugees. On the death of Doctor Staunton in 1814 the present learned and venerable Doctor Fitzgerald entered on the administration of the college. It may be proper to observe that there is no communication between the students of the ecclesiastical and the pupils of the lay college, and that no portion of its revenues has been converted to private emolument; whatever remains, after defraying the necessary expenditure, is applied to the improvement of the institution itself: a circumstance which accounts for the present enlarged and splendid appearance of the building. The numerous advantages derived from this literary asylum must render it an object truly interesting to every philanthropist: it has been lately honoured with peculiar marks of distinction; in May 1840 it obtained from her Majesty a charter by virtue of which it became associated with the University of London.

When, in 1793, the Catholic delegates after a successful mission in the British metropolis had returned to this country, the subject of national education was that which of all others appeared to possess a pre-eminent claim to their attention.—Those seats of literature, in which the more respectable classes of the laity as well as ecclesiastical candidates might be competently qualified for the discharge of the duties of their respective stations in life, had been long since proscribed and at length became numbered among the melancholy ruins of the country; while, as has been already noticed, our

foreign colleges on the continent of Europe were either sinking rapidly into decay or yielding to the shock of an anti-Christian revolution. This it was which first suggested the idea of reviving a system of home education, adapted to the wants of the Catholic youth of Ireland, commensurate with the exigencies of the mission and resting on a fund to be raised by public voluntary contribution. The plan having been submitted to the members of the Catholic hierarchy met at once with their concurrence: and that the undertaking might be rendered in some measure worthy the circumstances and growing importance of the Catholics of Ireland, it was proposed that four spacious colleges should be established, one in each province of the kingdom.

In the meantime the spirit with which subscriptions had been advanced was truly unprecedented; cities and towns as well as individuals entered into a noble rivalry on this patriotic occasion, the literary glories that once settled around the halls of Bangor appeared at length to revisit the land and an enthusiasm as boundless as it was honourable to the national character seemed almost instantaneously to pervade the great mass of the Catholic population of Ireland. If the numerical strength, increasing opulence, patriotism and religious zeal of the Irish Catholics be admitted as data, it must inevitably follow that the system of education already contemplated could be a work of no difficulty; had the feeling displayed at this eventful period been allowed to operate, they would have reared up literary foundations that might well compete with the first and most learned establishments in Christendom. Of this truth the British Government were fully sensible, and to it, perhaps principally, must be attributed the adoption of a measure introduced at this time into the legislature for the purpose of promoting the education of the Irish priesthood. The bill itself originated from Government and passed through the usual formalities of law, but the sum voted was paltry in the extreme; for the education

of the clergy of seven millions of people eight thousand pounds per annum was granted by the Government of a nation which makes so great a boast of its equity, of its wealth and munificence. This grant was accepted and in 1795 an ecclesiastical college was founded in Maynooth, a town in the County of Kildare and about twelve miles from Dublin. The first president of this invaluable establishment was the learned Doctor Hussey, afterwards Bishop of Waterford; Doctor Aherne was appointed to preside in the school of dogmatic theology, Doctor Flood* in that of morality, Delort professed mathematics and natural philosophy, Clinch taught rhetoric, Lovelock humanity and Eustace English elocution. This splendid combination of talent was soon after reinforced by the accesssion of La Hogue, Darre, Anglade and the highly gifted, venerable Ferris.†

That the paltry grant originally voted for an establishment of such national importance should at length be pronounced as unbecoming the character of a great nation is only what might be expected; Government itself became ashamed of the pittance, and accordingly the Whigs in 1806 advanced the annuity to thirteen thousand pounds. To the discredit, however, of these times, intolerance was allowed, even in a free senate, to triumph over the demands of justice and the wants of a faithful nation: Maynooth College enjoyed the grant of 1806 for the short term of two years: in 1808 it was shamelessly reduced to the original sum! It is almost unnecessary to state that no augmentation has since been offered, although the Catholic population of Ireland has

* To the unwearied exertions of Doctor Flood the rising institution of Maynooth was considerably indebted. He succeeded Doctor Hussey in the office of president, and from the laudable manner in which genius was patronized under his administration the college in a short time presented a galaxy of talent which it would be rare to discover in other contemporary institutions. It is pleasing to think that the College of Maynooth, at the present day, continues to support the same noble and distinguished character.

† For a memoir of Doctor Ferris see chap. III.

amazingly increased, and the vast utility of the clergy, (both bishops and priests,) who have received their education in that college is admitted by Government and cannot be fairly questioned even by their most bitter opponents. It is to be hoped, however, that the time has now arrived when that spirit of bigotry, which had been too long the scourge of mankind, will be excluded for ever from the councils of an enlightened nation, and that religion will be no longer permitted to be used as a pretext for oppression or as a barrier to separate man from his rights.

At the close of the eighteenth century Ireland had reason to glory in the possession of her ancient faith, yet, lamentable to say, this is the period at which she must date the overthrow of her national independence. The project of a legislative union had been long since contemplated by the British ministry; while among the various means by which that mischievous measure was effected, the creation of political parties and that of consequent insurrection, particularly in the County of Wexford, were not among the least remarkable. This county had been eminently distinguished for the industrious, orderly and inoffensive conduct of its inhabitants, yet with all these and other endearing qualities they had been singled out as objects of the most refined and intolerable barbarity. On the 27th of May, 1798, the Chapel of Boolavogue, in the Parish of Kilcormick, having been profaned and reduced to ashes by a party of yeomen, gave rise to a reaction on the part of the people throughout that district; innumerable other outrages served at the same time to exasperate the public feeling; at length the spirit of retaliation became general. The detail of those melancholy scenes, which fill up the history of this unhappy period, belongs not to an analysis such as the present; suffice it to observe, that throughout the entire of this insurrection the Catholic clergy, when the power of appeasing an inflamed people was no longer at their disposal, undertook to employ

their influence in the service of humanity and even at the hazard of their lives interfered for the safety of their Protestant fellow subjects. Did space permit, a variety of instances could be adduced;* gratitude, however, for the disinterested benevolence of that amiable ecclesiastic the Very Rev. John Corrin, parish priest of Wexford, obliges us to place the following noble, Christian-like act on public record. While the town of Wexford had been occupied by the insurgents, a very considerable number of Protestants had fallen into their hands and were detained in custody within the precincts of the gaol. At length on the 20th of June, through the contrivance of a dastardly and brutal leader named Dixon, a general massacre of these prisoners was resolved upon; the bridge of Wexford being selected as a place best adapted for the execution of this revolting tragedy. It is but just to remark, that the high-minded and valiant portion of those in arms had, on the previous day and in compliance with orders, marched out from Wexford to the camp at the Three Rocks; none remained in the town except Dixon and a drunken mob, composed of the outcasts of the county, whom he had detained for the purpose of perpetrating his diabolical designs. At two o'clock on that day the slaughter of the unfortunate prisoners commenced: thirty-five of whom had been massacred when the news of this inhuman transaction was communicated to Father Corrin, then curate to Doctor Caulfield, the venerable Bishop of the diocese. Immediately this good priest resolved, even at the peril of his life, on proceeding to the spot; he hastened to the scene of slaughter, and having been obliged to make his way through a forest of pikes he at length reached the bridge. It happened that those engaged in this butchery had in general been persons from remote parts of the county and consequently had not been ac-

* See Doctor Caulfield's reply to the calumnious charges of Sir Richard Musgrave.

quainted with Father Corrin; a circumstance which rendered his situation still more perilous. Regardless of his own life he rushed forth and stood between the murderers and their victims; he implored them in the name of a crucified Redeemer to desist; by some of the infuriated multitude he was insulted, by many he was threatened and by all unheeded. At length, and as a last resource, he prevailed on them to kneel down and join with him in prayer; to this they consented, and he prayed that the eternal Judge might hereafter bestow the same mercy unto them which they should shew to the prisoners at that moment in their hands. This pious act had the desired effect and the massacre ceased. They still, however, remained unwilling to set the prisoners at liberty: he obtained the immediate liberation of one highly respectable Protestant gentleman, a resident of the neighbourhood, the others were re-conducted to prison under a strong escort of pikemen. The insurgents having on the following day been compelled to evacuate the town, these prisoners also were released; thus were they indebted for their lives to the noble exertions of that charitable and disinterested pastor, the Very Rev. John Corrin.

Under the administration of the Marquis Cornwallis, who arrived in Ireland on the 21st of June, 1798, the spirit of insurrection was gradually suppressed. An endless train of calamities, the bitter consequences of civil war, continued however pressing heavily upon the nation; while the experience of a short interval afforded the melancholy demonstration, that though the country had suffered much her final destruction remained still to be completed. Only two years had elapsed when Ireland surrendered her legislature, and to finish the catastrophe, her national independence disappeared along with it.

CHAPTER II.

Successors of St. Patrick—Episcopal Sees—Religious Foundations of the Eighteenth Century.

During the exile of the venerable Primate, Dominick Maguire,* the administration of the See of Armagh was committed to the care of a Vicar General, Doctor Donnelly. Perilous as this office had been ever since the days of Elizabeth, it became awfully so under the ministry of Queen Anne; however the death of the Primate occurred in 1708 and immediately after

HUGH MAC MAHON was advanced by the Pope to the vacant See. This Prelate, descended from an ancient and powerful family of that name in the County of Monaghan, was born in the year 1660. The laws, which at one period had compelled him to withdraw to a foreign country for his education, were no longer capable of intimidating him: he returned to Ireland soon after his consecration and entered on the duties of his ministry. Those intervals of toleration, which had occasionally taken place on the accession of the house of Brunswick, afforded him those opportunities which he had so anxiously desired and of which he took care to avail himself. Through his application the Dominican Nunnery at Drogheda had been founded in 1722; Augustin Pipia, then Master of the Order of Preachers, having issued his precept to that effect: at the same time Catherine Plunket was appointed its first Prioress.† To the revival of the long contested question connected with the Primacy we are indebted for that splendid specimen of talent and research

* See Cent. XVII. Chap. II.

† Hib. Dominicana, p. 360

which now proceeded from the pen of Doctor Mac Mahon. In 1728 he published his "*Jus Armacanum*," together with a Reply to some arguments advanced on the same subject by John Hennesy, a Jesuit of Clonmel. It would indeed be an irksome as well as a fruitless task to occupy the attention of the reader by any disquisition on the superior merits of this undecided question; suffice it to say, that in the work already mentioned the subject appears to have been handled with such comprehensive power and singular cleverness that it may well be said to have been actually exhausted. Doctor Mac Mahon has also left in manuscript a lyric poem, in honour of the Blessed Virgin and a latin translation of the "*Song of Moses*." He died on the 2nd of August, 1737, and in the 77th year of his age.*

BERNARD MAC MAHON, Bishop of Clogher, was translated to the Primatial See immediately on the death of the late Primate.† Owing to the unabated rigour with which the laws had been specially levelled against the prelates of this archdiocese, it may be readily supposed that their situation partook of none of those inducing advantages which naturally belong to a state of independence and competency. The Primate, Bernard Mac Mahon, resided in a retired place named Ballymascalon, in the County of Louth; his habitation was little superior to a plain farm-house and for many years he was known through the country by the name of Mr. Ennis. In this disguise, which personal safety so forcibly prompted, he was accustomed to travel over his diocese, make his visitations, exhort his people and administer the Sacraments. He is represented as a plain, humble, apostolical man, indefatigable in preaching the sublime doctrines of patience and forgiveness, and confirming that doctrine by his own great example: he was succeeded in the See by his brother:

* Harris Writers.

† Stewarts Armagh, p. 404.

ROSS MAC MAHON. This Prelate, as well as the former, had been Bishop of Clogher, from which See he was translated on the death of his brother. The same apostolical simplicity and holiness of life seem to have marked his career; they served to disarm his enemies, while they inspired his flock with a spirit of resignation and a still more ardent attachment for the persecuted religion of their country. His administration has been justly praised, and on his decease

MICHAEL O'REILLY was advanced to the Primatial See. This laborious Prelate after having been for some time Vicar General of the diocese of Kilmore became Bishop of Derry, from which See he was translated to Armagh. The moral education of youth, so long subjected to an iniquitous proscription, became the first object of his solicitude. He composed two catechisms, one in Irish and the other in the English language, which for perspicuity and matter were greatly admired and were for many years generally used throughout the Province of Ulster. In his days the chapels all over his diocese, as may well be supposed, were of an humble description, but his constant maxim was, that poverty was not incompatible with decency and decorum; accordingly he gave strict injunctions to his clergy that all matters connected with those sacred places and especially with the altar and the sanctuary should be kept in a state befitting the purity and sanctity of the Most High. He was accustomed to visit these chapels on Sundays and other times when he might be least expected; but if on these occasions he could discover any culpable remissness on the part of either the pastor or the people, they were sure of being severely reprimanded. He resided in an humble dwelling at Turfegin, near Drogheda: here he died about the year 1758, and was interred in a grave-yard, called the Chord, near St. Laurence's gate, Drogheda

ANTHONY BLAKE, Bishop of Ardagh, was translated from that See to Armagh, on the death of the Primate Michael

O'Reilly. He was a native of Galway and was lineally descended from the Blakes who had accompanied King John, on his first expedition to Ireland. The attachment which he appears to have had for the place of his nativity prevented him from paying that constant attention to the government of his diocese, which ordinary prudence as well as the canons of the Church would seem to demand. He resided generally among his relatives in Galway; at stated times he would make the usual visitations of his diocese, but this duty having been discharged he was accustomed to return immediately to his native town. This unaccountable remissness gave universal dissatisfaction to his clergy; complaints proceeded against him from every quarter, while a remonstrance grounded on a charge of non-residence and conducted by Doctor Philip Levens, parish priest of Ardee, and the Rev. Peter Markey, parish priest of Louth, had been forwarded against him to Rome. In consequence of this accusation, supported as it had been by unanswerable evidence, the Primate, it appears, was suspended from the discharge of his episcopal functions. While this disagreeable litigation had been pending Doctor Troy, who was residing in Rome, had just received his appointment to the See of Ossory. On the return of this Prelate to Ireland, he was commissioned to proceed with an investigation of the case; in virtue of which powers he cited the parties to appear before him in the chapel at Drogheda. At this meeting a considerable number of the clergy of the archdiocese attended, but with the particulars of it we have not been made acquainted; it is, however, certain that the Primate was reinstated, the clergy were reconciled and the see was restored to its former state of tranquillity. Doctor Blake, after a short interval, became paralyzed; a circumstance which rendered it necessary to provide for the interest of the see by the appointment of a coadjutor.*

* Stewart's Armagh.

RICHARD O'REILLY, already coadjutor to Doctor Keefe, Bishop of Kildare, was on this occasion selected. The Prelate, Richard O'Reilly, was a native of the Diocese of Kildare, and in the 16th year of his age repaired to Rome where he became a student of Propaganda in 1762. Having returned to Ireland, he devoted eleven years to the duties of a laborious mission in his native diocese and was appointed parish priest of Kilcock. His enlightened mind and amiable disposition had endeared him to both prelates and clergy, and in 1781, having been nominated coadjutor to Doctor Keefe, he was consecrated in his own parish chapel at Kilcock by the Most Rev. Doctor Carpenter, assisted by Doctors Troy of Ossory and Plunket of Meath. Only one year had elapsed when, in 1782, he was translated to Armagh and became coadjutor to the Primate, the Most Rev. Doctor Blake. The presence of this excellent dignitary among the clergy of the archdiocese became the successful cause of cementing that union for which it has ever since been so honourably distinguished; he visited each parish with parental solicitude, while his own powerful example of forbearance and conciliation served to render his admonitions altogether irresistible. Doctor Blake, after a short interval, retired to Galway and obtained a pension out of the archdiocese until his death which occurred in 1786; while the administration of the Primate, Richard O'Reilly, continued until the close of January, 1818.

The history of the Irish hierarchy, from the period of Queen Anne's proscriptions down to the close of the last general persecution, in 1744, presents an outline somewhat similar to that of the two preceding centuries. When the dawn of toleration, which appeared to accompany the house of Brunswick to the throne, had in some measure dispelled the gloom so long impending over the nation, the prelates of the kingdom availing themselves of a crisis so favourable resumed in each diocese the public exercise of their juris-

diction. Nevertheless the security on which they rested was just as precarious as the caprice of the party in whose hands the executive happened to be lodged; intervals of tranquillity would occur, but in a moment and when least expected the storm would again burst out in all its fury. It was not until about the year 1750 that the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland began to assume a settled and well organized appearance. Up to this period the union of various parishes had (through an unavoidable scarcity of priests,) become general in almost every diocese; some of these unions branched out to an unreasonable extent, while in many instances the population of this immense district was necessarily committed to the care of an individual pastor. To remedy this grievance a decree emanated in 1751 from the Congregation of Propaganda: it was transmitted by the Nuncio Apostolic to John Linegar, Archbishop of Dublin, with directions to have the same notified to the Archbishops of Armagh, Cashel and Tuam, and to be by them communicated to their suffragans. Agreeably to the tenor of this decree, those parishes which might be considered too extensive were to be subdivided so as to form new parishes; if that could not be conveniently effected, coadjutors were to be appointed from the body of the secular clergy, or in case of necessity regulars might be substituted by way of provision and as temporary assistants. The same decree enforced the canonical rule of constant residence, agreeably to the instructions conveyed to the prelates of Ireland by Benedict XIV* it recommended the appointment of authorized examiners in each respective diocese cautioned the clergy against receiving alms in the sacred tribunal and reminded them of that most indispensable part of their duty, the catechetical instruction of youth. The bishops were likewise admonished to be careful in conferring the faculty of celebrating the sacred mysteries twice

* See Chap. I.

on the same day; this privilege was to be allowed only in cases of great necessity and to such priests as had been distinguished for zeal, prudence and missionary experience.— They were, moreover, enjoined to submit a report of the state of religion in their respective dioceses every second year to the Nuncio at Brussels, to be by him transmitted to the Sacred Congregation.*

From the eighteenth century must be dated the union of the Sees of Cloyne and Ross. The Dioceses of Cork and Cloyne, which had continued united since the fifteenth century, now became separate sees, while the ancient Diocese of Ross was, about the year 1758, annexed to the latter, under the incumbency of Doctor O'Brien, Bishop of Cloyne. To this century likewise the union of the Sees of Kildare and Leighlin must be referred; while the circumstances of the times and the limited state of the population are among the probable causes to which these regulations may be traced.

The ancient religious foundations of the country presented at this period one indiscriminate melancholy mass of ruins, while the possessions, a great portion of which actually

The following Prelates presided over the Archbishopric of Dublin during the eighteenth century:

EDMUND BYRNE succeeded Archbishop Creagh in 1707 and governed the archdiocese for about seventeen years. EDWARD MURPHY was translated from the See of Kildare in 1724 and died after an incumbency of five years. LUKE FAGAN, Bishop of Meath, was translated to Dublin in 1729: his death occurred about the year 1734. JOHN LINEGAR was advanced to the see on the death of Archbishop Fagan: this Prelate presided over the Archdiocese for twenty-two years. RICHARD LINCOLN succeeded in 1757: he died in 1762 and was interred in St. James's Church-yard, Dublin. PATRICK FITZSIMON, Dean of Dublin and parish priest of St. Audeon's, became his successor in 1763: the administration of this Prelate continued for six years. JOHN CARPENTER, Prebendary of Wicklow and Curate of St. Mary's in Dublin, was consecrated in Liffey-street Chapel on the 3rd of June, 1773, by the Primate, Doctor Blake, assisted by Doctor Keeffe, Bishop of Kildare, and Doctor Burke, Bishop of Ossory: this Prelate died on the 29th of October, 1786, and was buried in St. Michan's Church-yard. JOHN THOMAS TROY was translated from the See of Ossory during the same year.—See Chap. I.

* Vide Constitutiones Provinciales Ecclesiæ Metrop. Dnb. Anno 1770.

belonged to the poor of Ireland, were swept away amidst the unsparing and continued spoliations of nearly two hundred years. During this long and dismal period, the regular orders as well as the hierarchy of Ireland had been specially marked out as the destined victims of legislative vengeance; if the blind, self-interested bigot felt a desire to trample on the sacred rights of conscience or to raise up the hacknied outcry of "no popery," the regular clergy of the kingdom formed an inexhausted subject for his vociferations; if the legislature of the day wanted to amuse the popular phrenzy by the exhibition of new fashioned enactments or of a new series of tragedies, monks, Jesuits and friars were sure to come in for their part of the entertainment. The ministry of Queen Anne undertook to do that which they well knew their predecessors had never been able to accomplish. To prevent "the further growth of popery," the whole strength of the Code was brought into requisition, the regular communities were proscribed and ordered to quit the kingdom, while the gibbet was prepared and the executioner was at his post in case they should return. But to the eternal honour of these great men they did not quit the kingdom; they stood by the people, adhered to their duty and defied their enemies. In demonstration of this fact, the authenticated records of these religious orders, which have providentially escaped the wreck, must be admitted as a sufficient voucher. Let us take, for example, the existing records of the Franciscans: in these authorized, sealed documents we find that during the reign of Anne, while the laws in their full vengeance were promulgated and the magistracy inexorable, while the country was overrun with informers and a general panic pervaded the land, these self-same proscribed regulars, so far from deserting their duty, came in numbers and with the courage of martyrs into the very metropolis: here they assembled, held their general chapters, elected their Provincial, and went through the usual ordeal of their pro-

ceedings nobly and heroically; and at the very moment when their pursuers within a short distance were met together super-refining the Code and devising new plans for their destruction. A general chapter of the Franciscans was held in Dublin* in 1703, a year peculiarly awful in the annals of terror; in this chapter sixty-four vocals attended;† in 1705 a middle chapter was convened in the same city. Another general chapter, at which sixty-two vocals assisted, was solemnized in the metropolis during the November of 1706: and an intermediate one in 1708. A third general chapter was held in Dublin, October 12th, 1709, the number of vocals being sixty-two; the intermediate chapter is dated the 7th of June, 1711. The fourth general chapter, at which sixty-three vocals attended, was held in the same city on the 13th of October, 1714; about the very period in which Queen Anne closed her mortal career.‡

It was not until about the termination of the reign of George I that the regular orders in Ireland could, with any degree of safety, comply with the public practical ordinances of their institutes. At that time, availing themselves of the temporary relaxation of the laws, they ventured to procure places of residence, to live in community and to erect chapels in the metropolis and other towns of Ireland. In the year 1721 the Dominicans had been thus settled in Dublin, Limerick, Cork, Cashel, Drogheda, Sligo and Galway; while in the country districts the same order had at this period been similarly re-established.§ The persecution of 1744,

* These chapters are all dated "In loco Refugii Nostri," signifying that they assembled in a place of refuge and security from their enemies.

† By vocals are understood persons who have a right to vote at these capitular elections. It is most certain that the number of members who were present at these chapters was by no means confined exclusively to the vocals above specified,

‡ Capitular Records preserved in the archives of the Franciscan Convent, Wexford.

§ Hib. Dom. p. 716.

although truly awful, was but of short continuance; it was manifestly an impotent attempt to subdue the spirit of these men accustomed as they had been during the course of their lives to sufferings and oppression. Its severity appears to have been most acutely felt in Dublin, Kilkenny and Waterford; in these cities the religious communities were dispersed, but, as has been already noticed, the storm soon subsided and the revival of ancient discipline was accordingly restored.

A decree connected with the regulars of Ireland and emanating from Propaganda had, in 1751, been transmitted to John Linegar, Archbishop of Dublin. It ordained that these houses are to be considered formal convents in which regulars live in community; and that such regulars as do not reside within these convents are in every respect to be subject to the ordinaries, as the delegates of the holy See. It prescribes that all regulars, on their return from the Continent to Ireland, shall exhibit to the ordinary their letters of obedience together with testimonials from the Nuncio Apostolic at Brussels; the same rule, as to the testimonials, to be observed by the secular clergy. The superiors also of the regular orders were enjoined to transmit a report of the spiritual state of the province to the said Nuncio. In conclusion it prohibited regular superiors from receiving any more novices in Ireland: such postulants were to be sent to Catholic countries in which regular novitiates had been established agreeably to the constitutions: nor were these individuals to return to Ireland until they had completed the usual course of dogmatical and moral theology.* That portion of the decree, which prohibited the reception of novices in Ireland, produced considerable dissatisfaction among the superiors of the different orders, while Father Bernard Mac Henry, Provincial of the Dominicans, addressed to the master of his

* Constitutiones Provin. Eccl. Metrop.

order in Rome a remonstrance written in an exquisite style and replete with solid and convincing arguments.* This prohibitory clause was, however, afterwards withdrawn and novices were allowed to be received and professed in this kingdom precisely as they had been in antecedent times.

* Hib. Dom. p. 181.

CHAPTER III.

Religious and Literary Characters of the Eighteenth Century—General Observations.

FRANCIS PORTER, the laborious author of the “Ecclesiastical Annals of Ireland,” was born in the County of Meath about the year 1640 and at an early age retired to Rome with an intention of embracing the Franciscan institute. A decided superiority of talent together with the natural meekness of his manners entitled him to be raised to the guardianship of the Convent of St. Isidore. Having continued to discharge the duties of this office for some years he was appointed lector of philosophy, and was ultimately advanced to the chair of moral and speculative divinity in that establishment. The number of learned Irishmen by whom that college had at this period been adorned served to bestow lustre on the character not only of the priesthood but likewise of the country from whence they came. These men withdrew from their native land and took shelter within the walls of this literary asylum for the purpose of consecrating their lives to study and of rendering their researches a benefit both to their religion and to their country. Among these invaluable Irishmen Francis Porter unquestionably merits a conspicuous place. His controversial writings, although received with great applause, had not, in consequence of the mass of similar productions, been so indispensably required: the work, which entitled him to most merit and in which he proves himself decidedly useful, is without doubt his “Compendium of the Ecclesiastical History of Ireland.” He commences this record with a brief account of the ancient kings

of his native country, their laws, wars and treaties: he then proceeds with an analysis of its conversion to Christianity, and an outline of the cathedrals, monasteries and schools of Ireland, together with a concise history of many of its sainted and learned men. Throughout the work he presents to his reader an awful developement of the persecutions of his native land and concludes with splendid illustrations of the reverence and heroic attachment which the people of this country had always cherished towards the Holy See. Francis Porter continued his laborious researches until 1702, in which year he died at Rome and was interred in St. Isodore's. He has written: 1. *Securis Evangelica ad Hæresis radices posita*.—Romæ, 1674, octavo. 2. *Palinodia Religionis prætensæ Reformatæ*.—Romæ, 1679, octavo. 3. *Compendium Animalium Ecclesiasticorum Regni Hiberniæ*.—Romæ, 1690, quarto. 4. *Systema Decretorum Dogmaticorum*.—Avignone, 1693, folio. 5. *Opusculum contra vulgares quasdam Prophetias de Electionibus S. Pontificum, S. Malachiæ falso attributas; gallice primum editum, nunc in Latinum Idioma translatum*, Romæ, 1698, octavo.*

MICHAEL MOORE, to whom also the literature of Ireland is indebted, was born in Bridge-street, Dublin, A.D. 1640. Having acquired a good classical education in his native city, he repaired to France and commenced his ecclesiastical course in the Irish College at Nantz. Here he remained for some years and removed to Paris, where he completed his theological studies. His knowledge of the Greek language had gained him such celebrity, that after a period he was nominated professor of rhetoric in the Grassan College, which office he continued to enjoy for some years with singular credit. The state of his health having obliged him to return to Ireland, he was ordained priest by Luke Wadding, the learned Bishop of Ferns, and soon after became Prebendary of Tymothan and Vicar General of Dublin, under its venerable Archbishop, the Most Rev. Patrick Russel. In his sub-

* Archiv. Isodor. Arm. VI.

sequent advancement to ecclesiastical dignities, Tircconnell, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, appears to have taken an active part; he was introduced by that nobleman to James II, became one of the King's preachers and through the recommendation of the prelates of Ireland was ultimately appointed Provost of Trinity College.* This situation, however inviting it might appear, was not without its difficulties; it prepared the way for Doctor Moore's perpetual banishment from the kingdom. It appears that James had about this time some intention of placing the University in the hands of the Jesuits; the intimacy which was known to subsist between that Monarch and Father Peters, the Superior of the society, gave confirmation to the report, while the sensation which it created among the parties immediately interested was no longer confined to the metropolis, it spread with rapidity through every diocese of the kingdom. Among those who felt aggrieved and gave expression to their feelings on this occasion was Doctor Moore; he publicly denounced the measure, made it the subject of his most bitter invectives and levelled the whole weight of his indignation against Father Peters, whom he represented as a selfish, designing and dangerous adviser. While this subject had thus occupied the public attention, Doctor Moore was called upon to preach in Christ Church in the presence of the King and a large concourse of the nobility, on which occasion he took for his text these words of the Gospel, "If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch." It happened that Father Peters laboured under a defect of vision; a circumstance which inclined James to suppose that the preacher had made an intentional application both of the text and of its inferences to himself and the Jesuit. At all events Doctor Moore had scarcely returned from the pulpit when he received positive orders to quit the kingdom, without the hopes of

* Harris Writers.

favour or forgiveness. This mandate, which was delivered personally, met with an immediate compliance; the Doctor, in the meantime, observing to those around him "Go I will, without doubt, but remember, the King himself will soon be after me." Which remark happened after a short interval to be literally verified. Doctor Moore withdrew to Paris, where he was universally caressed; but on the arrival of James in that city, he deemed it imprudent to reside there any longer, and accordingly removed to Rome. Here also his acquirements soon brought him into honourable notice: he was appointed censor of books, professor of philosophy and Greek; at length he became Rector of the College of Montefiasconi. On the death of James he returned to France, where through the patronage of Cardinal Noailles he was nominated professor of philosophy, Greek and Hebrew, and became soon after President of the College of Navarre and Rector of the University of Paris. His solicitude for the interest of the Irish mission was unabated. With the assistance of Doctor John Farelly he purchased a house near the Irish College, in which ecclesiastical candidates for that mission were received and educated. Some years before his death he became blind and employed a person for the purpose of reading for him.—This individual, however, by his vile dishonesty, betrayed the confidence which his master had reposed in him; he pilaged the library of some hundreds of volumes, while the remainder were bequeathed by the Doctor to the Irish College for the benefit of his countrymen. Doctor Moore died in the College of Navarre on the 22nd of August, 1726, and was interred in the chapel of the Irish College. He has written: 1. *De Existentia Dei, et Humanæ Mentis Immortalitate*.—Parisiis, 1692, octavo. 2. *Hortatio ad Studium linguæ Græcæ et Hæbraicæ, Montisfalisco*.—1700, duodecimo. 3. *Vera Sciendi Methodus*, Lutet.—Paris, 1716, octavo.

CORNELIUS NARY was born in the County of Kildare about the year 1658, and obtained an early classical education at Naas. Having in the 24th year of his age, received ordination at the hands of Doctor James Phelan, Bishop of Ossory, he proceeded to Paris, where he became an Alumnus of the Irish College and was afterwards appointed Provisor of the same establishment, the duties of which office he continued to discharge for seven years. His transcendent talents enhanced by unremitted application soon opened the way for further literary honours; in 1694 he acquired superior distinction as a canonist and took out a degree of doctor of laws in the University of Paris. With a view of contributing assistance to the exigencies of the Irish mission, he resolved to return to his native country, but when he reached London he was prevailed upon by his friends to remain for some time in that city and became domestic chaplain to the Earl of Antrim. Notwithstanding the discouraging state of Ireland at this period, the love which he cherished for the religion of his native land and his anxiety to co-operate with his fellow countrymen would not permit him to prolong his stay in London; he soon after proceeded to Dublin and was appointed parish priest of St. Michan's in that city. The reputation of Doctor Nary was soon universally established, he ranked as the leading and most successful controvertist of the day; by his writings as well as by his discourses he contributed to the triumph of truth and to the conversion of numbers. During the registration of 1704, Doctor Nary clung with the affection of a father to his flock; he was one of the 1080 priests who submitted to the process of that penal ordeal; his sureties on that occasion being Nicholas Lincoln, a merchant in Capel-street, and John Butler of Ormond Quay.* This learned and truly valuable pastor continued unmolested in the government of his parish until his

* See Act for Registering, &c., Dublin, 1704.

death which occurred on the 3rd of March, 1738. Doctor Nary has written: 1. *A Modest and True Account of the Chief Points of Controversy between Roman Catholics and Protestants.*—London, 1699, octavo. 2. *Prayers and Meditations.*—Dublin, 1705, duodecimo. 3. *The New Testament translated into English.*—London, 1705, octavo. 4. *Rules and Godly Instructions for devout Widows.*—Dublin, 1716, 16mo. 5. *A Brief History of St. Patrick's Purgatory.*—Dublin, 1718, duodecimo. 6. *A Catechism for the use of his parish.*—Dublin, 1718, duodecimo. 7. *A New History of the World, according to the computation of the Septuagint.*—Dublin, 1720, folio. 8. *A Letter of Controversy to the Vicar of Naas, Dublin, 1722, quarto.* 9. *A Letter to the Archbishop of Tuam.*—Dublin, 1728. 10. *An Argument, shewing the difficulties in Sacred Writ.*—Manuscript.*

TIMOTHY O'BRIEN, contemporary with Cornelius Nary, was born in the County of Cork and in 1691 withdrew from his native country with a view of obtaining that education in a foreign land which was denied him at home. The Irish College at Toulouse had the honour of placing this distinguished Irishman on the list of its Alumni; here he completed his scholastic course and after a period took out a degree of doctor of divinity; he was ultimately advanced to the administration of the establishment, in which situation he continued for about nine years. Having returned to Ireland in 1715, he became parish priest of Castletyons, in the then united Dioceses of Cork, Cloyne and Ross.

For the purpose of keeping up an intolerant outcry, it was usual at that period, but particularly during the reign of George II, to have the press as well as the pulpit in requisition, and among the various tracts which appeared was one from the Rev. Rowland Davies, Protestant Dean of Cork, entitled "*The truly Catholic and old Religion.*" This production was ably refuted by Doctor O'Brien and occasioned a lengthened controversy in which the Dean and the anti-

* Harris Writers.

quity of his religion underwent a most awful exposure.—During the year 1743 Doctor O'Brien published in Cork "A brief, historical and authentic Account of the beginning and doctrine of the sects called the Vaudois and Albigois." To this work Doctor Clayton, Protestant Bishop of Cork, undertook to produce a reply, while the controversy was prolonged until 1745, when the Bishop, finding himself upset, appears to have lost all temper and began to threaten his antagonist with the vengeance of the "No Popery Laws!" Doctor O'Brien continued in the discharge of his pastoral duties until 1747, in which year he died. Besides the above mentioned works, he has written, "An Explication of the Jubilee," in two parts.—1725. Also "The Bishop of Cork's pastoral letter answered."

THOMAS DE BURGO, the learned author of the "Hibernia Dominicana," was a native of Dublin and was born about the year 1709. Scarcely had he attained the fifteenth year of his age when he proceeded to Rome and embraced the Dominican institute. Having completed his course of ecclesiastical studies under the distinguished lecturers, Vincent Kelly, a native of Kilkenny, and John Brett of Sligo, his merit entitled him to be promoted to the rank of Regent of the College of SS. Sixtus and Clement in that city, which office he continued to enjoy with singular honour for six years. His learning added to an ardent attachment for the ancient religion of his country had been among the motives which prompted the prelates of Ireland to intrust him, in 1740, with a commission connected with the festivals and offices of some of the eminent Fathers of this once sainted isle! The number specified in the commission was ten; namely, SS. Rumold, Malachy, Laurence, Frigidianus, Brigid, Celestine, Columba, Gallus, Columbanus and Dympna.*—Having succeeded in obtaining the decree of Benedict XIV, dated the 8th of July, 1741, he forthwith transmitted a copy of it to the Archbishop of Dublin, John Linegar, while the

* Hib. Dom. Cap. XV. p. 552. et Cap. I. p. 22.

original was deposited in the archives of the Convent of SS. Sixtus and Clement, in Rome. During the year 1743 he returned to Ireland and commenced his missionary career with superior zeal in the metropolis. The concession of the Supreme Pontiff, which had been already obtained, elicited in 1745 a second memorial from the Irish prelates, which in like manner was committed to the management of De Burgo.—The number of feasts embodied in this document amounted to fourteen; viz., those of SS. Fursey, Fintan, Cataldus, Cuthbert, Rupert, Celsus, Congall, Kilian, Fiachre, Firminus, Canice, Donatus, Colman and Livinus. By the directions of De Burgo and the agency of John Lynch a native of Galway and at that time Rector of St. Clement's, a second decree was procured for these feasts in 1747 and copies thereof transmitted to Ireland. In the mean time De Burgo undertook the task of collecting the proper offices for these feasts, or at least the lessons of the second Nocturn, and at length had the satisfaction of finding his labours attended with success; out of the twenty-four offices there was a deficiency of only two, those of SS. Celsus and Colman; the lessons for these he himself carefully compiled.

To the unwearied research of this great man the literature of Ireland as well as that of the institute to which he belonged stands highly indebted; in the provincial chapter of 1753 he received an injunction to compile the history of the Dominican Order in Ireland, which task he completed by the production of that elaborate and invaluable work, the "*Hibernia Dominicana*." Six years had scarcely elapsed when his merits, already appreciated at Rome, had entitled him to still further distinction. On the decease of John Dunne, Bishop of Ossory, De Burgo was advanced to the vacant see and on the 22nd of April, 1759, was consecrated in the Dominican Nunnery at Drogheda by Anthony Blake, Archbishop of Armagh. On this occasion also he received in *Commendam*, by apostolical letters, the Parish of St. Mary,

situated in the City of Kilkenny, and which at the time happened to be placed under the pastoral care of Patrick Molloy, an ecclesiastic distinguished for his eloquence and other superior endowments. Doctor Dunne, the predecessor of De Burgo, had, it appears, also obtained this parish *in Commendam*, and soon after undertook to make a collation of it to Father Molloy, in consequence of his meritorious services. This circumstance gave rise to a most disagreeable litigation between the incumbent, Patrick Molloy, and the newly consecrated Prelate, De Burgo; the excitement which it created in the City of Kilkenny had been prolonged for about six months, an appeal to Rome emanated from both parties, when at length the Bishop was successful, having on the 30th of July, 1761, received a confirmation of the original apostolical letters by a new pontifical diploma.

On the following year his "*Hibernia Dominicana*" proceeded from the press; owing to the temper of those times, it was represented in the title to have been published in Cologne, but in reality that honour belongs to Kilkenny, the city in which he resided. This immortal work, exhibiting an ample, fearless and terrific outline of the sufferings of our national Church, became sorely obnoxious to the bigotry of the day; an outcry was raised against it in various quarters; at length the bishops of the province acting, as they conceived, on prudential grounds adopted the design of holding a convocation for the purpose of reviewing and purging the work: the City of Kilkenny having been the place appointed for their meeting. The execution of this measure was soon found to be impracticable; the Bishop of Ossory loudly protested against the illegality of such a meeting within the precincts of his diocese and denounced it as a censurable infringement on his canonical rights. The project was accordingly abandoned: some of the prelates refused to attend at Kilkenny: Doctor Sweetman, Bishop of Ferns, after having proceeded on his journey as far as Ross,

and being there made acquainted with the intentions of the Bishop of Ossory, very prudently changed his determination and returned home. The prelates of Munster, however, assembled soon after at Thurles and expunged a small portion of the work, consisting of merely an extract from Porter's ecclesiastical annals, relative to the proceedings of James II.

The venerable and truly learned De Burgo continued to govern his diocese with great honour to himself and advantage to religion until 1786, in which year he died and was interred in the ancient cemetery attached to the parish chapel of St. John, in Madlin-street, of which he had been for so many years the brilliant and distinguished ornament.

The events of this century, as well as those of the ages which have preceded it, must serve to furnish us with a convincing argument of the folly and absolute impotence of human power in attempting, either by state artifice or by the terrors of the sword, to overthrow the sacred foundations of truth or to extinguish the noble, elementary principle of liberty of conscience. The experiment has been tried in every age and in almost every national Church of the Christian world: in Ireland its duration was longer, its violence more unrelenting, its consequences more awfully appalling. The Penal Code alone stands without a parallel in the whole wide range of systematic cruelty. From the commencement of the sixteenth century down to the days of Queen Anne, this volume of death was swelling in magnitude and darkening in terror, until at length it was found impossible to render it more frightful by the addition of a single enactment. Had the reign of Anne been continued for a more lengthened period and had the measures of her government been followed up, the probable consequences would of themselves furnish a melancholy subject for reflection. The registration clause enacted and rigorously enforced at that period was one of the most dark and subtle schemes ever yet devised for subverting Catholicity in Ire-

land by the gradual but ultimate extinction of its priesthood. That the destructive materials of which it was composed might be kept as it were from the view of the nation—that the suspicions of the public mind might be tranquillized by the show of an apparent security, the measure itself was brought forward and passed under the pretext of a reasonable toleration; meanwhile the catastrophe was slowly yet inevitably expected, the angry element was collecting but the cloud was dissipated before it had time to come to an explosion. The subsequent events of the eighteenth century serve only to cast a darker shade on this frightful picture of national sufferings; but if we may complete the piece by the introduction of scenes that belong to epochs still more remote, it must be confessed that, in the entire annals of persecution, the Catholic Church of this country, for trials on the one hand and heroic fidelity on the other, stands unquestionably without a rival. Other national Churches, no doubt, have been compelled to pass through a similar element; in primitive ages, and in times less remote, they have had their dark and dismal night of persecution; still it was but temporary, it was moreover confined to certain localities, and when the tempest in its fury visited one country the faithful generally had it in their power to make their escape to another. Such, however, was not the case with the Catholics of Ireland; the storm continued unabated, it blew from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, and while the sword of extermination forced them to the very shores of the island, the waves of the ocean repelled them back into the hands of their pursuers. For upwards of two hundred years, the caverns of the mountain and the inaccessible wilds of the country were the great asylums which nature had prepared for the proscribed priesthood of Ireland, and had not Providence above stupendously interfered, the ancient religion of the nation would

have ended in a wreck without perhaps leaving even a remnant to perpetuate the recollections of its former grandeur.

Many of the events connected with this century may also serve to confirm the opinion which throughout this analysis has been so justly advocated. It has been asserted that nothing can be more destructive to religion or dangerous even to society than a Church encumbered with overgrown wealth or mixed up with the intrigues of state policy.—Of this species of ecclesiastical revenue the tithes form a prominent and an obnoxious portion. Their consequences have been generally ruinous in other nations; in Ireland they have been truly awful. To this system must be principally traced those unfortunate combinations of Whiteboyism and that spirit of midnight outrage which every good man must deprecate, and for which humanity is left to deplore. Nor are its consequences confined to the eighteenth century; even since that period, what numbers of lives have been sacrificed—what torrents of blood have flown? One scene of terror was replaced by another still more appalling, while the whole series must ultimately fall as a blot on the name and character of our common Christianity. The system, in its original form, possessed some recommendatory advantages; it exonerated the community from various contingent expenses, but above all it administered to the wants of the poor—benefits with which the tithe impost of modern times has no participation whatever. Whether considered in its application to a class of persons from whom no benefit could be derived, or in its exaction, or in its tragical results, it would be difficult to show how it can conduce to the moral happiness of a nation. True religion wants no such auxiliary, it rests on its own merits, and with a priesthood depending (as the apostles did,) on the voluntary contributions of a grateful people it must, despite of all opposition, eventually triumph.

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of the Veto—Its rejection by the Irish Prelates in 1808—Intrigues of the Vetoists defeated in Kilkenny and Louth—English Catholic Board—Proceedings of the Prelates in 1810 and 1813—Rescript of Quarantotti—Meeting of the Clergy of Dublin in Bridge-street Chapel—Letter of the Pope from Genoa—Memoir of Cardinal Consalvi—National Synod in Dublin—Episcopal and Lay Deputations—Rev. Richard Hayes—Proceedings of the Delegates in Rome—Domestic Nomination—Removal of the Rev. R. Hayes from the Roman States—Subsequent proceedings of the Catholic Board—Decline and ultimate extinction of Vetoism—History of the Right Rev. Doctor Doyle—Evidence of the Catholic Bishops in 1825—Catholic Emancipation.

The prostration of Irish independence, generated by the legislative Union, was not the only measure contemplated by the British Cabinet at this eventful period. For upwards of two hundred years every means within the reach of human power had been employed to crush the religion of the country; open violence and secret intrigue had been alternately brought into operation, but every effort ended in a failure, each experiment only proved the impotency of the former, while the whole series of which the ordeal was composed demonstrates to the world the insufficiency as well as the impiety of man in attempting to overthrow the sacred and eternal principle of religious toleration. Nevertheless, when once bigotry becomes arrayed against liberty of conscience,

it seldom fails in its discovery of new resources; and thus it is that we are enabled to account for that strange movement which the policy of the British Minister had at this time entered upon, but which like every other experiment was ultimately defeated. Hitherto the channels of ecclesiastical jurisdiction had stood beyond the reach of political defilement; the Irish Hierarchy, as uncorrupted as it was persevering, pious and learned, had not yet been tried in any process save that of terror and destruction; now however a state theory apparently the reverse is concocted, and that venerable body is to be undermined by promises which might never be fulfilled and which in any case would be incapable of securing the religion of the Irish people from ultimate ruin. The state of Ireland, in the year 1799, was awfully deplorable: between martial law, the irritation of party, the horrors of an impending famine and other calamitous consequences of civil war the country from one extremity to the other presented little better than a general scene of desolation; yet this was the period which the Minister, in his policy, selected for putting the intrigues of the Cabinet into a train of execution. During the course of that year, ten of the Irish bishops, constituting the Board of Maynooth College, happened to be convened in Dublin on the arrangement of some ecclesiastical business, when Lord Castlereagh, then Secretary for Ireland, availed himself of their presence and submitted for their adoption two vitally momentous measures originating from the British Ministry.*

By the first of these it was proposed that his Majesty should be invested with the power of a Veto in all future

* The Prelates composing the Board were:—Richard O'Reilly, R. C. A. B., Armagh; J. T. Troy, R. C. A. B., Dublin; Edward Dillon, R. C. A. B., Tuam; Thomas Bray, R. C. A. B., Cashel; P. J. Plunkett, R. C. B., Meath; F. Moylan, R. C. B., Cork; Daniel Delaney, R. C. B., Kildare; Edmund French, R. C. B., Elphin; James Caulfield, R. C. B., Ferns; John Cruise, R. C. B., Ardagh.

ecclesiastical promotions within this kingdom, and agreeably to the second the Catholic clergy of Ireland were to receive a pension out of the treasury; at the same time assurances were solemnly pledged by government that on the acquiescence of the Irish hierarchy in these state measures the fate of that great national question, Catholic Emancipation, entirely depended. Thus beset by the proffers of the Minister on the one hand and by the alarming posture of the country on the other, the bishops already alluded to agreed, "that in the appointment of Roman Catholic Prelates to vacant Sees within the kingdom, such interference of government, as may enable it to be satisfied of the loyalty of the person appointed, is just and ought to be agreed to"—this statement was accompanied with an admission, "that a provision, through government, for the Roman Catholic Clergy of this kingdom, competent and secured, ought to be thankfully accepted." To prevent any undue infringement either on the discipline of the Church or on the influence which the prelates themselves ought to possess, it was subsequently ordained, that the candidate for the vacant see should, as usual, be recommended by the clergy of the diocese to the prelates of the ecclesiastical province, to be by them elected by a majority of suffrages: the name of the candidate so elected was then to be presented to government, and if no objection should appear against him a return was to be made within one month, after which the name of the person so approved of was to be transmitted to Rome in order to receive appointment from the Holy See. If, however, government should have any proper objection against such candidate, the president of election is to be informed thereof within one month after presentation; in which case he is to convene the clergy again and proceed to the election of another candidate. These Prelates were, moreover, satisfied that the nomination of parish priests, together with a certificate of their having taken the oath of allegiance, be notified to government: in

conclusion, it is observed "that agreeably to the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church, these regulations can have no effect without the sanction of the Holy See," to procure which they pledge themselves to use their best endeavours.*

The excitement which the publication of these arrangements had created throughout the kingdom may be readily anticipated; among the clergy and the great mass of the people there was but one opinion; their religion was again assailed, while the visible support on which its vitality depended was about to be yielded up to the discretion of a powerful and an inveterate adversary.

This doctrine of Vetoistical arrangements, promulged at such a crisis, mixed up with the principle of allegiance and constituting the grand basis of Catholic Emancipation, was a measure in every respect befitting the policy for which the Pitt administration is known to have been characterized. Should it happen to be rejected by the clergy and people, as its authors had reason to anticipate, it supplied them with an argument for withholding the rights of the nation, but if on the other hand the measure of a Veto should meet with an unanimous concurrence on the part of the Irish Catholics, then the overthrow of their religion in this country became inevitable. Viewed in any light it presents itself as a piece of cabinet intrigue pregnant with incalculable mischief; it served for a series of years to create an unhappy division among the Catholic body, and kept the country in an almost constant state of fermentation and alarm. Notwithstanding the insecure nature of the ground on which it rested and the numberless dangers with which it seemed so awfully environed, some there were among the Catholic community who recklessly overlooked the precipice that stood before them and joined in a formidable but fruitless outcry for its adoption.

* See Resolutions of R. C. Prelates, 17th, 18th, 19th January, 1799—Dublin Chronicle.

This class appears to have been unexceptionably composed of a considerable part of the Irish aristocracy, together with that varied description of speculating misnamed patriots with which every nation abounds, and among whom the principle of self-aggrandizement is universally embraced as a leading article. With the former, Emancipation was a sure and an immediate step to office and dignity; with the latter it became a sort of passport, by virtue of which they were at liberty to set out in quest of new discoveries and seek their fortune under whatever constellation they might please to follow within the whole wide compass of the political hemisphere. Hence it is that these two classes of characters had strenuously contended for the concession of a Veto, while the great bulk of the nation, lay and ecclesiastical, with no less vigour conscientiously resisted the measure. The division thus created and the agitation with which it was accompanied were in admirable accordance with all the expectations of the Ministry; they encouraged both parties to exhaust their energies in fruitless contentions, while they themselves were sure of having a ready apology either for postponing or rejecting the fair and open discussion of the great national question of civil and religious liberty.

Such had been the lamentable posture of affairs when, in 1808, Lord Fingall arrived in London as the bearer of a petition from the Catholics of Ireland, with instructions to have it placed in the hands of Lord Grenville, Mr. Grattan and Mr. Ponsonby. His Lordship, on this occasion, thought proper to step beyond the bounds of his commission; at all events he employed a most inappropriate colouring in the representation which he drew of the feelings of the prelates, priests and people of Ireland on the subject of Vetoistical arrangements. These advocates of religious toleration, to whose management the petition was to be intrusted, were now furnished with assurances that in case Government acquiesced in the achievement of Catholic

Emancipation, the clergy and people of Ireland on their part were satisfied to consent to a Veto; while in confirmation of this statement, Doctor Milner, who the year before had been appointed agent in London for the Irish prelacy, took upon him to aver, that although the Catholic bishops of Ireland could not concede to the Crown a *direct and efficient* power in the nomination of prelates,* yet he was of opinion that they were disposed to grant a *negative, restricted* interference, in virtue of which a limited number of candidates might be rejected, so as to enable Government to be satisfied as to the loyalty of the Catholic hierarchy in this kingdom.† Thus was the question of a Veto in the election of Irish bishops introduced by Lord Grenville in the House of Lords and by Messrs. Grattan and Ponsonby in that of the Commons without any sanction or even suspicion on the part of either the clergy or people of this country.

The alarm which the intelligence of this unexpected movement had circulated throughout Ireland became as awful as it was general; among the clergy of the second order a Veto, in any shape, was emphatically denounced—by the laity it was indignantly reprobated. In the mean time the prelates of the kingdom assembled in Dublin on the 14th of September, 1808, and, after a full and fair investigation of the subject, adopted a resolution, of which the subjoined is a copy:

“It is the decided opinion of the Roman Catholic prelates

* That a positive nomination cannot be allowed to an heterodox Government appears evident from the letter of Benedict XIV, addressed to the Bishop of Breslau and dated the 15th of May, 1718; in it the Pontiff thus expresses himself: “In the whole history of the Church there is not recorded a single example of allowing the appointment of a Catholic bishop or abbot to a sovereign of another religion.” He adds moreover, “That he would not, and could not introduce an example which would scandalize the whole Catholic world, and that besides the dreadful judgment inflicted on him in the next world, he would render his name odious and accursed during life, and much more so after his death.”—See Letter from the Secretary of Propaganda to Doctor Concanen, dated in 1805.

† Doctor Milner’s “Elucidation of the Veto,” p. 9.—London, 1810.

of Ireland, that it is inexpedient to introduce any alteration in the canonical mode hitherto observed in the nomination of the Irish Roman Catholic bishops; which mode long experience has proved to be unexceptionable, wise and salutary.”*

To the learned, patriotic Bishops of Ossory and Cloyne, Doctors Lanigan and Coppinger, the honour of this memorable resolution is to be chiefly attributed; in co-operation with whom must be ranked that zealous, eloquent and enlightened Prelate, Doctor Florence Mac Carthy, Coadjutor Bishop of Cork. Twenty-three of the prelates affixed their signatures to it; only three expressed their dissent.

Although this solemn declaration of the Irish hierarchy ought to have been sufficient to silence the clamour of the Vetoists, nevertheless they persevered in their system with as much confidence as if they themselves had been the regularly authorized guardians of Church discipline. Any attempt at enlisting the services of the people in their behalf by an open and fair line of proceeding would be worse than visionary, recourse is therefore had to one of those forlorn expedients which are generally to be found in the recesses of dark intrigue and are at all times the unerring index of a tottering cause. Under pretence of complimenting Lord Fingall for his late conduct in London they prepared an Address, intending to have it circulated through the country for signatures. At that time the City of Kilkenny, in consequence of its celebrated theatricals, presented an overflowing concourse of Irish and English aristocracy; thither, therefore, as an introductory experiment, the Address was first forwarded; it was afterwards to be submitted to the several counties of the kingdom. The honest citizens of Kilkenny were, however, too enlightened and too spirited to suffer themselves to be imposed upon: they assembled in thou-

* See Resolutions of R. C. Prelates, 14th Sep., 1808, Dublin Chronicle.

sands, denounced the document as an impudent intrusion on the rights of their hierarchy, and under the guidance of their venerable and truly zealous Dean, the Very Rev. Richard O'Donnell, they drew up a counter address,* to be directed to the bishops who had attended the synod in Dublin. A declaration, embracing the substance of this counter address having been exhibited to the county received at once forty thousand signatures: fifty individuals signed the aristocratic document, of which number forty-six immediately after repented of their rashness and publicly retracted.

This discomfiture accompanied by a similar occurrence in the County of Louth served to give the fatal blow to Vetoism throughout the country. A meeting of nine gentlemen having taken place at Rokeby Hall, in that county, the seat of Lord Southwell, they thought proper to address a letter to the Archbishop of Armagh, supposing that his abjuration of the Veto had proceeded from existing circumstances.—The authors of this correspondence appear to have been altogether unmindful of that high spirit of independence for which this county had been so properly characterized: the inhabitants assembled at Dundalk, resolutions were passed condemnatory of all Vetoistical arrangements and upwards of five thousand sanctioned them by their signatures.

* This counter address is thus expressed: "We, the Catholic inhabitants of the City and County of Kilkenny, deem it expedient, in duty and in gratitude, to make you the sincere offer of our thanks, which we accompany with the feelings of our hearts, no less than with the assent of our judgment. In your temperate yet firm disapproval of any innovation in the mode of perpetuating that divine hierarchy which (covered with glories won out of a rude and lingering struggle,) we look up to as the last undestroyed monument of our faith and ancient national grandeur, we solemnly recognize the succession of those virtues by which your sainted predecessors were ennobled, and in your steadiness we as solemnly anticipate the unimpaired transmission of these virtues to future times. We hope that Catholic Ireland has but one voice and one opinion on this momentous national question. Signed for the Catholic inhabitants of the City and County of Kilkenny: Richard O'Donnell, R.C. Dean of Ossory."

While the hated measure of Vetoistical arrangements had been thus condemned by the prelates and people of Ireland and its cause held up to public execration by the press,* it became a favourite topic with the leading members of the English Catholic Board. This self-important body, in their anxiety to acquire the restoration of their rights, appear to have been utterly regardless of the means which they ought to employ: the measure of a Veto met at once their acquiescence, but when brought to the conflict they were too insignificant to be able to withstand the overwhelming power of Catholic opinion which had been arrayed against them. In the meantime the advocates of Emancipation in both Houses of Parliament at length disclosed their real sentiments: not content with a restricted Veto they insisted on the propriety of vesting in the Crown an unlimited control in the future election of Catholic bishops. This avowal coupled with the conduct of the Catholic Board in England served to exhibit

* Among the many able productions which at this time appeared against Vetoism the most powerful and convincing were perhaps those which proceeded from the pen of Mr. Clinch. This highly gifted man, as has been already noticed, was for many years an eminent professor of rhetoric in the College of Maynooth. When that establishment was about being opened, the President, Doctor Hussey, visited London for the purpose of making a selection of professors from among the host of learned French refugees and other distinguished Continental scholars with whom that metropolis then abounded. With the abilities of Mr. Clinch, who was then a young man, Doctor Hussey had been already well acquainted; however he deemed it advisable to have him examined and accordingly had him introduced to that accomplished and ardent patron of literature, Edmund Burke. The questions which Mr. Burke had on this occasion thought proper to propose were all stated in writing, and they were answered by Clinch in a style so masterly and brilliant, that the statesman, as a token of his decided approbation, presented him with a splendid quarto edition of Horace taken from his own library. In it he wrote these words: "Edmund Burke presents this book to James Bernard Clinch in admiration of his talents." Mr. Burke at the same time addressed a letter to an influential dignitary of the Castle in recommendation of Mr. Clinch, by which means he could have obtained an important public situation provided he would consent to take the requisite oath, but this he declined.

His admirable pamphlet on the Veto was published before the memorable episcopal meeting of 1808. In the introduction the author alludes to the Veto-offer made by the ten bishops in 1799 and extenuates their acts with much feeling and

the whole scheme in its full deformity; it created a general disgust even among those who had for some time been enthusiastic admirers of the measure: many of them retracted and became proselytes to anti-Vetoism, among whom the learned Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District, Doctor Milner, stood pre-eminently conspicuous.* The draft of an extraordinary Catholic bill, prepared at this time by Sir John Cox Hipplesey, was in itself a convincing proof that the dissolution of this ill-fated measure could not be retarded by political quackery—that its doom was fixed. He prescribed that on every vacancy a list of names, not less than four nor exceeding eight, should be submitted to the Chief Secretary, to be by him laid before his Majesty's Government; while the remaining part of the machinery was carefully modelled from the original of 1799. In consequence, however, of an expected change of ministry which Continental reverses had at this time rendered probable, the opposition thought proper

candour: at the same time he exhorts the prelates, then about to assemble, to cancel the proceedings of that period and adopt the glorious example of their episcopal predecessors in the Church of Ireland. Of those ancient Irish bishops he thus writes: "It must be remembered, notwithstanding, that we owe much to Catholic episcopacy in Ireland. It is to the constancy, zeal and laborious devotion to their sacred calling of Irish bishops, we are indebted for the present increase of the Catholic name, which, eradicated by the axe of law from year to year, derived growth and vigour from perpetual wounds, and at this day overspreads the soil like an unmeasurable ruin. Selected from the priesthood, not by the profane reconnoitering of Court intrigue, but by the hallowed test of venerable life—marked out for peculiar severity and disgrace by the laws—presented by Grand Juries as infamous men—contemning safety—disdained by power—those ancient prelates confined their ambition to their apostleship and addressed their labours to them on whom the Gospel was first expressly bestowed—to the poor, to the prisoner, to the weeping. Nor were the poor ungrateful for the heavenly comforts. From beggarly means and rich swelling hearts, they gave a welcome in return, and a place of refuge, and a love approaching to worship. Those humble evangelists have passed away, crowned with sufferings, works, and glorious infamy, and I repose upon their intercession, now that they are consummated spirits, in hope that their successors will not fall by the dissembling warfare of any power, such as formerly marked them out for proscription, and that on the eve of our deliverance, when the

* Doctor Milner's Letters to the Catholic Public.—London, 1810.

to steer another course, and the motion was accordingly abandoned.

While Ireland had been thus agitated, scenes of another kind were passing in awful succession on the great Continent of Europe. The destinies of the universe seemed to hang on the victorious career of Napoleon: nations were revolutionized, emperors, kings and statesmen felt the shock—sacrilege moved in rapid strides with despotism, while on the 16th of July, 1809, Pius VII, the venerable Father of the Faithful, was seized in his palace and hurried to a French dungeon.

Notwithstanding the repeated sentiments of the prelates, clergy and people of Ireland on the measure of a Veto, singular as the fact may appear, it still continued to be advocated. A letter received by the Earl of Fingall from Lord Grenville, in January, 1810, was the signal of an approaching attack and once more awakened the public feeling. The prelates assembled in Dublin on the 24th of the following month:

palsied knee should be braced and the faint heart should be resolute, they will not suffer that light to go out, offensively, which burned and gleamed in the tempestuous night of a long captivity as *the lamp of prophecy before the morning star*, and as a beacon to the troubled and sinking faith of nations." This pamphlet on the Veto, which may be justly styled a masterpiece of profound reasoning and deep philosophy, concludes with these soul-stirring words: "Thus I conclude.—The subject is fertile of meditation. As a Roman Catholic, as an enemy to arbitrary power, as an Irishman, as a subject, I protest against this right of appointment, as proposed by martial invitation, acceded to by desolate men, insulting to our truth, unconstitutional, scandalous, and the germ of endless civil war.—I solicit no contradiction. I wish for none. I fear none. Let him, however, who will meet me, bring motives as disinterested and sorrow as true as mine. For I have seen Ireland a kingdom. That kingdom was sold. I see Ireland still the first of Catholic Churches. This Church shall not be sold, nor transported nor die. It is the inheritance of their children, who died to save it."

This zealous and truly learned man continued through life his most active exertions against the hated measure of Vetoism. Under the signature of *Detector* he published many admirable letters on the subject, in which he had occasional controversy with the celebrated Doctor Milner, whom he endeavoured to recall from his Vetoistical propensities. That highly gifted Prelate at length withdrew from the unholy warfare, on which occasion Mr. Clinch thus addressed him in the language of thanks and congratulation: "You have done, my Lord, a thing which atones to us for all the past, and in a manner worthy of us and of you. You stand alone

they declare their adherence to the resolutions of 1808; adding, "that the oath of allegiance which they had already taken was in itself a most adequate security. Moreover, that they neither sought or desired any other earthly consideration for their spiritual ministry, save what their flocks might, from a sense of religion and duty, voluntarily afford them." On this occasion, likewise, they passed a merited vote of thanks to their agent, the Right Rev. Doctor Milner, for his late apostolical firmness in dissenting from and opposing the destructive system of Vetoistical arrangements.—The substance of these resolutions was embodied in an address directed to the Catholic clergy and people of Ireland, and was received with great applause at various public meetings convened about this time in Dublin, Kilkenny and other places. In this address the prelates also pledge themselves to reject all briefs, bulls, or rescripts coming from Rome, until it shall be ascertained that his Holiness is restored to

in England at this moment, a Catholic and a Bishop; and you have stood it out alone for Ireland and for Christ. You have, my Lord, at last discovered what *Detector* told you in the year 1808, and what we had known for nine years before, that the scheme of Pitt was to Protestantize the Catholics by making a prudent use, as Cecil expressed it in his plan to Queen Elizabeth, of the statutes of Premunire. Therefore do I welcome your name, which I always loved, to this hospitable country, which never forgets a benefit."

Some years afterwards Mr. Clinch employed his powerful talents in the completion of a truly learned work "On Church Government." Of this work Doctor Milner, in a letter addressed to the Most Rev. Doctor Troy, testifies "that it would do honour to the most learned canonist in the most learned age of the Church, but in the present age it was a prodigy; that the author went to the bottom of the well in search of truth and brought that precious treasure out of it." In the last pages of this work Mr. Clinch found occasion to give an epitome of Vetoism and again extenuates the conduct of the ten bishops in 1799. Alluding to the vote of thanks passed by the prelates of Ireland to Doctor Milner for his firmness in resisting the notorious Vetoistical fifth English resolution, he observes: "Doctor Milner resisted the pledge (or English Vetoistical resolution,) on two grounds.—He asked, that the determination of the Irish prelates, with regard to the *extensive and complicated arrangements*, should be waited for: again, he considered a lay assembly incompetent to stake the *Catholic* system for an undefined change of *Catholic* usage. Unluckily, the place and time were ill suited to his exertions. In the *Œcumenical Council* of the love feast, where solid gaiety and harmony and

the full exercise of his liberty. A subsequent address published in 1813, ought to have convinced the advocates of Vetoism that in attempting to dislodge the Irish nation from the conscientious and firm ground on which they now stood, they had just as little chance of success as the schismatics of the sixteenth century had in contending with the Catholics of Ireland at that period. For the purpose of removing those disqualifications under which the Catholics of these kingdoms had laboured, a bill was at this time introduced into Parliament, while a Veto, as usual, became the principal ingredient in the various clauses with which it abounded. This it was which elicited the solemn decisive and triumphant declaration of the Irish prelates: they denounce these clauses or securities as utterly incompatible with the discipline of the Catholic Church, and whereas the indispensable concurrence of the Pope, who was then a captive, could not be obtained, they declare it impossible for them to accede to any such material alteration in Church discipline without incurring the guilt of schism.

Hitherto the weapons employed in this protracted warfare had been collected from internal national resources, and were

vocal music presided, it was scarce to be hoped that arguments of a religious savour would go down. The bishop was not in unison with the symphonious liberality of the instruments, brandished by his lay brother-doctors of the Church. He was invited to *sit down* while pleading. He persisted—he stood alone—he stood it out alone. However, the Catholic bishops in Ireland, considering that he had acted and suffered for them as well as for the rights of the Christian Church, thought it just to efface the slight, which their colleague had experienced, by a deliberate testimony of honour: they *thanked his apostolical firmness* in resisting the dangerous pledge. By this vote they recorded in their annals the name of *MILNER* along with their own constancy. They blessed a shamrock-wreath and hung it around his trophies. Its leaf does not fall—its *Catholic green* does not fade." This work on Church government was lauded by the Irish prelates in their national synod, while the merits of its author were immortalized by a solemn vote of thanks. Shortly before his death Mr. Clinch published a small pamphlet on the "*Repeal Agitation*," in which he triumphantly alludes to his *former victory* during the Veto contest. Thus from the first to the last did this great man persevere in his attachment and unabated zeal for the glory and independence of the Church of Ireland.

found unserviceable: the introduction of a document from Rome, in 1814, although in itself a mere indigested experiment, became the signal of a new system of attack. The venerable Head of the Church had been still a captive, while the duties of Vice-Prefect of Propaganda devolved on Monsignor Quarantotti, now in the decline of life and consequently less competent to encounter the difficulties of a dark and complicated piece of intrigue. By means of the Right Rev. Doctor Poynter, Vicar Apostolic of the London district and through the agency of the Rev. Doctor Mac Pherson, then Rector of the English College in Rome, the aged and weak-minded Quarantotti consented to take a prominent part in the plot of Vetoism: he caused an instrument in favour of that measure to be executed at Rome and had it transmitted to Doctor Poynter with directions to have it communicated to all the bishops and vicars apostolic of the British empire. It has been already observed that the Irish prelates had, in their address of 1810, entered their solemn protest against the reception of any official documents coming from Rome until such time as the supreme Pastor of the Church might be restored to the full exercise of his liberty.* With such a declaration placed on record and still fresh in the recollection of the public, it is not easy to determine what object the authors of the rescript could have proposed, unless that of involving the hierarchy of Ireland in new difficulties and of creating a general uproar throughout the country. At all events that such was the result, the experience of a few months sufficiently attested.

The rescript of M. Quarantotti,† immediately on its publication in May, 1814, was received by the Catholics of Ireland, lay and ecclesiastical, with feelings of the most marked contempt and abhorrence; the sensation which it evoked throughout the country was, in many respects, unprecedented. In

* See page 361.

† For this Rescript see Appendix III.

the meantime the letters of many of the Irish prelates in reply to Doctor Poynter's communication, written as they had been in a style of fearless and honest indignation, afforded a sufficient guarantee for the security of religion and tended in a great measure to allay the ferment of the public mind.— Among the clergy of the second order, if a few solitary exceptions may be allowed, there was but one sentiment: the rescript of Monsignor Quarantotti was alike reprobated throughout every diocese; that public expression should be given to this feeling was denied by none, yet it was evident that some section of the clergy should commence and set the example. During this brief suspense the priests of the Archdiocese of Dublin, with an intrepidity which does them eternal honour, were the first to come forward and meet the national expectation by the announcement of a public meeting. This meeting took place in Bridge-street Chapel on the 12th of May, 1814; Doctor Blake, then parish priest of SS. Michael's and John's, presiding as chairman. That same spirit of uncompromising independence, which had brought them together, may be traced in every sentence of the resolutions adopted on this memorable occasion. They denounced the rescript signed Quarantotti as *non-obligatory*: they considered the concession of Vetoistical arrangements in any shape, not only inexpedient but, moreover, under existing circumstances, highly detrimental to the best and dearest interests of religion, and finally they called on the Catholic clergy and laity of Ireland to unite with them in an earnest entreaty that the prelates of the kingdom would, without delay, remonstrate against this document, and at the same time represent to his Holiness, now reinstated at Rome, the tremendous evils which would inevitably flow from its adoption.* The resolutions of the clergy of Dublin became the subject of universal panegyric: the noble ex-

*See Resolutions of Dublin Clergy in Dublin Chronicle.

ample which they had set was immediately embraced throughout the respective dioceses of the kingdom.

In the meeting of the prelates, which was convened at Maynooth on the 27th of the same month, the fate of Quarantotti's rescript was decided: they considered it as not mandatory, and resolved that, for the purpose of opening a communication with the holy See, two prelates shall be forthwith deputed to proceed to Rome and submit to the Chief Pastor their unanimous and well known sentiments on the subject.* This resolution was followed up by the appointment of the Most Rev. Doctor Murray and the Right Rev. Doctor Milner, as delegates to the holy See. In the meantime the excitement created by the rescript of Monsignor Quarantotti continued furious and alarming: after a period it died away, while the document itself has been preserved merely as a memento of the intrigue, impotence and folly of Vetoism.

Such had been the posture of affairs both in this country and in England when the fortunes of Napoleon underwent an unexpected revolution. In March, 1815, Buonaparte sailed from the Isle of Elba to re-ascend the throne of France, while Murat, King of Naples, at the head of ninety thousand men, undertook to revolutionize Italy in support of his former benefactor, and by forced marches led his army to the gates of Rome. In the meantime his Holiness accompanied by the whole court quits the city, and having rested for a day at Viterbo he directs his route into Tuscany. This state, however, being at all times defenceless and withal powerless when contrasted with the forces of Murat, his sacred person is not yet considered to be placed in perfect security. He accordingly ascends the Appennines and with their Eminences enters Genoa, where an English garrison protected him from a *coup de main*, and an English fleet secured him a retreat by sea. Meanwhile the panic which had made its way through the nations became progressively alarming, and while the allies poured their myriads along the

* See Resolutions of the Prelates—Freeman's Journal, 1814.

Alps and the Rhine, Napoleon was mustering his legions and from the Camp de Mai proclaimed his bold determination to lead France to the new and general conquest of Europe.

It was during this period of universal terror and while Pius VII had been under the protection of the English at Genoa, that the Vetoists recommenced their hitherto unsuccessful intrigues, and after repeated solicitations obtained, on the 26th of April, a letter from his Holiness in reference to the long desired interference of the British Government in the nomination of Catholic prelates for Ireland. In the procurement of this document, which as we shall presently see was merely of a permissive nature and by no means mandatory, the English Cabinet, besides the critical contingencies of place and time, had also recourse to the agency of individuals who were already virtually at its service and whose pliant servility to foreign courts was equalled only by the extensive influence which they possessed over the generous mind of their unsuspecting master. Fontana, whom Pius VII on his departure from Rome had brought with him as his private theologian and Cardinal Consalvi, then secretary of state, were the mediums through which this instrument had passed into the hands of the British Minister: the three copies, which had been respectively addressed to Doctors Poynter, Milner and Troy, were forwarded under the directions and signature of the Prefect of the Propaganda, Cardinal Litta. The letter itself was penned and executed by Fontana, but it had in the first instance been obtained from the Pontiff at the urgent persuasive suggestions of the state secretary, Cardinal Consalvi. Before, however, this very interesting document shall be presented to the attention of the reader, the history of this able and celebrated statesman must, at least in an abridged manner, be previously introduced.

Born at Rome of an ancient family, originally of Urbino, his Eminence, Consalvi, had entered young into the diocesan

seminary of Frascati; Henry, Cardinal Duke of York, brother to the young Pretender, being then Bishop of that see. The young Consalvi, now in deacon's orders, found means of securing the patronage of this influential Cardinal, through whose interest he soon after obtained the prelate's cloak and became Auditore di Rota, or one of the judges who preside in the court of civil appeal. Pope Pius VI had, in 1798, been carried away prisoner to France, while the Sacred College was dispersed by the immediate orders of the French Directory. Upon this occasion Monsignor Consalvi followed the fortunes of his patron, who, deprived of all his revenues, obtained from his Britannic Majesty a considerable annuity; thus renouncing the accredited independence which he had hitherto enjoyed together with all his family pretensions to the crown of England. On the death of Pius VI, the Sacred College assembled at Venice. His Eminence of York having, by reason of his age and infirmity, been prevented from attending, Consalvi was sent and commissioned to act as his proxy; a circumstance which enabled him to unfold the vast resources of his genius, and to which his future exalted fortunes through life may be mainly attributed. During the four months that the conclave lasted, the agent Consalvi displayed extraordinary talent for business, particularly in whatever regarded the communications with foreign courts. In March 1800 he was advanced to the office of secretary and presented with the port-folio of state.

At this critical period it was that his Holiness, Pius VII, had proceeded to Rome, which city the victories of the Russian General Suwarrow had forced the French to evacuate. The battle of Marengo, however, soon changed the fortune of war, while the re-establishment of religion in France became the first object of the holy See, an event which necessarily pre-supposed the concurrence of Buonaparte in all the views, religious and political, of the Roman Court. Consalvi, lately decorated with the purple, undertook the

arduous enterprize from which cardinals of more age and experience shrunk with despondency. After a series of fruitless negociations the apprehensions of every experienced man are realized, the eyes of the minister Consalvi are opened and all his calculations vanish into air. On the 6th of July, 1809, the venerable Pius VII was forced into captivity, while the inflexible, uncompromising firmness displayed by the confessor of Christ, in his prison, saved from schism and ruin all the Churches as well as the ecclesiastical privileges of the French nation. The political results of his Holiness's fortitude were not less conspicuous. An universal sympathy almost instantaneously pervaded Europe: those courts and nations, which had hitherto looked on with indifference, became now the admirers of the Holy Father; every arm is raised against his unfeeling gaoler; his councils are struck by heaven with folly; his legions are buried in the Russian snows; his friends desert him; his enemies conquer him and that feeling of nations, which Providence in its own time had evoked, precipitates the vanquisher from his throne and restores the venerable Pontiff triumphant to his dominions.

On the return of Pius VII to Rome, Consalvi was reinstated and accordingly entered once more on the exercise of his former ministerial functions. His negociations with Austria and Murat, not coming within the scope of this work, shall accordingly be passed over; certain it is that he proceeded to the Congress at Vienna with a view of effecting their ratification. His Eminence, however, previously visited London where it is supposed he received his first elementary lesson on Vetoism. The alarm, which the decree of Monsignor Quarantotti had created, was still fresh in the public mind and prompted several individuals of prudence and experience to offer their advice to the secretary. Doctor Moylan, Bishop of Cork, being then in England, made it his business to wait on the Cardinal; he cautioned him against being a party to any such system of interference; on which

occasion the secretary replied that the measure was as decidedly reprobated by himself and by the Court of Rome as it had been by the Irish nation. In France also, Mr. Francis Plowden placed in the Cardinal's hands sixty pages of a manuscript which he had drawn up for the express purpose of enlightening his mind on the subject; nevertheless it is said that soon after his arrival at Congress he applied to Rome for full power to settle the point definitively with the English Minister, Lord Castlereagh. Doctors Murray and Milner being then at the Holy See, and having rendered the authorities there more cautious than Quarantotti had been, the powers sent to Consalvi were only *ad referendum*, that is, that he might confer on the matter with the British Plenipotentiary, but should come to no definitive arrangement without first referring it to his Holiness. Whatever may have been the nature of the private compact which his Eminence had entered into during the sitting of that Congress, it was at all events generally suspected that he did on that occasion pledge himself to the views of the British Cabinet.

The reception which his Eminence met with on his return to Rome was most flattering; he is considered by men of every order as the great liberator of the ecclesiastical states, and in the *allocutio* or speech from the throne pronounced by the Pope before the full Consistory of Cardinals on the 4th of September, 1815, he is emphatically styled "the most meritorious son that had ever served the holy See." In the mean time the Minister having re-assumed the reins of government set about amending many of the arrangements which had been projected by the provisional administration during his absence. Besides the various venerable congregations, those of Propaganda, the Council, the holy Office and Immunity, which had from time immemorial administered the respective departments into which the multiplicity of Church affairs, foreign and domestic, are divided, the secretary erects a new tribunal, to which he gave the general

title of "A Congregation of Ecclesiastical Affairs." This judicial court, so memorable for its connexion with the affairs of Ireland at a subsequent period, had been got up for the avowed purpose of guiding the secretary of state in those matters of religion upon which he may have communications from the ambassadors of foreign powers.

Such was the lofty and difficult position to which this undoubtedly first of statesmen had been elevated when Napoleon broke from Elba and gave a new as well as an unexpected turn to the destinies of Europe. This was the crisis when the great Disposers of Kingdoms at Vienna received their first public lecture on the futility of human speculations; their dictation was soon proved to be visionary, and instead of planning the distribution of nations, they had now to collect their troops and endeavour to stop the career of their mighty and formidable antagonist. Pius VII, as has been already noticed, arrived at Genoa, where his sacred person found a place of security under the protection of an English fleet. From this city also a document connected with Vetoistical arrangements had been issued, bearing date the 26th of April, 1815, and addressed, under the signature of Cardinal Litta, Prefect of the Propaganda, to Doctors Poynter, Milner and Troy.* With respect to this letter, which soon after created such an unusual ferment throughout the country, two principal points are to be considered: first, the nature of the document itself, and secondly, the agency by which it had been obtained. It will appear evident from the very tenor of the letter, that it was by no means mandatory, that it was merely *permissive* and that even this permission had been expressed under certain conditions. It states that when complete emancipation is granted, when all oaths hitherto proposed are laid aside and replaced by one of the three forms mentioned in the letter and when Government

* For this Genoese document see Appendix IV.

renounces its demand for the revision of rescripts, denominated "Regium Exequatur," that then his Holiness will not have a difficulty *to permit* an interference of the British Government in the nomination of bishops for the Church of Ireland. The agency employed in procuring this official paper was even at that period very far from being a mystery. Lord Bentick, who then acted as British Ambassador, frankly acknowledged to have used all his influence on this occasion, while it is equally certain that Doctor Poynter had contributed to advance the measure. This letter was addressed to the above named Prelates under the signature of Cardinal Litta; nevertheless it is but fair to put on record the publicly avowed declaration of this most upright and venerable Prefect. "In Genoa (he observes,) I said and repeated to the Pope, to his advisers and to all, *do not execute this letter*, meddle not in any shape with this matter; but my admonition was fruitless; and against my own decided private opinion I affixed my signature thereto."*

This letter, important as it must have been under the existing state of affairs, was nevertheless from motives, which it is not difficult to conjecture, carefully concealed from the public eye. At length, after the lapse of three months and towards the end of July, 1815, it began to be whispered abroad that Vetoism had obtained a triumph and that the Holy Father had been deceived into some concessions favourable to the views of the British government. This rumour, at first vague and little credited, was soon after confirmed by the following extract of a letter from Rome, which appeared in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle of the 2nd of August. "The Pope in Genoa consented to the Veto—Doctor Poynter was for it—Doctor Milner was against it—but the number of English Catholics who came here last winter persuaded his Holiness—so Doctor Poynter went contented from the Pope." As soon as this announcement had appeared, the most unexampled ferment pervaded all classes of society. That some

official document on the subject of arrangements had reached this country was now unquestionably ascertained, and as people who are naturally open and ingenuous themselves generally suspect the worst when they are not treated with equal candour by others, so the Irish Catholics concluded that this letter, which they were not allowed to see, had decisively lodged in the hands of the government that destructive authority which they had so long and so fearfully dreaded. Accordingly the independent press teemed with productions against the hated measure: the Catholic Association met and summoned an aggregate meeting; the clergy addressed their prelates already assembled in Dublin; the laity waited on them by deputation—while the Vetoists whether masked or avowed could set no limits to their exultation, and that Vetoism might want nothing to render it as ludicrous as it was criminal, the no-popery yellers cordially enlisted under its kindred banners and commenced in the press and elsewhere a furious crusade against the Catholics in support of the Pope's Infallibility.

In the midst of this scene of uproar and universal confusion, the Catholic bishops of Ireland assembled at Dublin in national synod on the 23rd of August. The prelates, by the resolutions adopted in this synod, proved themselves to be the fearless and faithful guardians of the religion of their country. They pronounced every the least interference of the Crown, direct or indirect, in the appointment of bishops for the Catholic Church in Ireland, *essentially injurious and eventually destructive to the Roman Catholic Religion in this country*: declaring themselves bound, by all canonical and constitutional means in their power, for ever to deprecate and oppose it.* This decision of the prelates was received by the clergy and people of Ireland with every mark of enthusiasm; encomiums commensurate with its merits had been passed on

* See Resolutions of the Prelates—Freeman's Journal.

it by some of the first writers of the day; "it deserves (says Doctor Milner) to be engraven in characters of gold on a national pillar, as a monument to the universe that Ireland is still Catholic." The prelates followed up their declaration by their deeds; an episcopal deputation composed of two Bishops, the Most Rev. Doctor Murray, Coadjutor Bishop of Dublin, and the Right Rev. Doctor Murphy, Bishop of Cork, with the Very Rev. Doctor Blake, Archdeacon of the Metropolis, were directed to proceed with a remonstrance to Rome, and sailed in a few days.

That the resolutions of the prelates might be placed on a still more permanent record, and be supported by the whole weight of the nation, an aggregate meeting of the Catholics of Ireland was held on the 29th of the same month, in Clarendon-street Chapel, at which Sir Thomas Esmonde, Bart. presided. In this meeting the Catholic laity renew their expression of esteem for and gratitude to their venerable hierarchy, for the firm, manly and decided manner in which they had reprobated every measure giving to the crown any control whatever over the appointment of bishops in this country; declaring at the same time, that such measure must necessarily tend to destroy religion, and also materially injure the civil rights and liberties of the people of Ireland of all classes and denominations. As the clerical deputation had been already appointed and was now ready to proceed to Rome, the meeting came to an unanimous determination of adopting a similar line of proceeding. Accordingly a remonstrance, in concurrence with that of the prelates, was ordered to be prepared, and a resolution was passed appointing the deputation. It consisted of Sir Thomas Esmonde, Bart. and Owen O'Connor, Esq., and to these delegates was joined, as their secretary, a man of tried integrity and intimately acquainted with the language and customs of the Roman Court, the Rev. Richard Hayes *

This disinterested patriot and learned man (who in the dis-

* Resolutions in Evening Post, 1815.

charge of this mission made a sacrifice of his health and, it may be said, of his life on the Altar of his country) was descended of a respectable family and was born in the town of Wexford on the 20th of January, 1788. Possessed of those extraordinary gifts which nature distributes with so sparing a hand and filled with a love for the ecclesiastical state he resolved to retire to the Continent, where now as well as in ages past the Irish student was sure to meet a friendly reception. Accordingly in the 14th year of his age he proceeded to Rome, where having attached himself to the College of St. Isidore, he attained the object of his wishes and made his solemn profession in the church of that convent as a member of the Franciscan institute. The ardour with which he now entered on the course of his ecclesiastical studies was commensurate with the extent of his powerful talents. To a knowledge of the Greek and Latin classics, which he had acquired in his native country, he added an intimate acquaintance with the Hebrew and the southern languages of Europe; this literary treasure he carefully enriched by becoming a perfect master of Mathematics in all its most sublime and intricate branches. Having devoted eight years to the study of the Scriptures, of Church history and of Canon law under one of the most learned Consulters of the Holy Office, he returned to his native country in August, 1811, a period when, from the confusion of war and of military licentiousness, such a journey, as may be presumed, had been extremely hazardous.

The Rev. Richard Hayes was in Cork, attached to his convent when on Friday the 1st of September, he received a letter from Mr. Hay, enclosing the resolutions which have been already noticed. The invitation, although flattering, was evidently the forerunner of a difficult and perilous task; nevertheless Father Hayes responded to the call of his country and arrived in Dublin two days after he had received the resolutions from the secretary of the association. In the

mean time Sir Thomas Esmonde and Owen O'Connor having declined the journey to Rome, Mr. O'Connell read to the association a letter from the former, proposing Doctor Dromgole, then in Italy, in his stead. This proposal not having been attended to, the plan of a deputation was on the point of being abandoned, but the danger arising from Vetoism becoming more alarming the remonstrance to his Holiness was at length drawn up, approved of and placed in the hands of Father Hayes, thereby appointing him the publicly authorized delegate of the Catholics of Ireland to the Holy See. He accordingly proceeded on his journey, observing to his friends, that difficulties and dangers he set at defiance; for, said he, "while Ireland hates the Veto, she will support me in spite of all intrigue, if I serve her with integrity." At London he obtained a passport from the French ambassador and after some delay in France, then occupied by foreign troops, and a journey of five weeks he reached Rome on the 25th of October, two days after the arrival of the episcopal deputies.

A negotiation, such as that which through their respective representatives the prelates and people of Ireland were now going to commence at the Holy See, did by no means offer the most flattering prospects of success. The objects of this important mission, as contained in the resolutions and remonstrances of the prelates, priests and people were, in the first place, to supplicate his Holiness not to permit the British Government to interfere in the regulation of their ecclesiastical concerns; secondly, to remove the pretext of such interference by the enactment of a system of Church government exclusively domestic, and thirdly, to protest on both religious and political grounds against the said interference, and to state that the bishops, clergy and Catholics of Ireland would oppose it by all canonical and constitutional means, as being essentially injurious and eventually destructive not only to their religion but also to their civil liberty.

The episcopal deputation had, immediately on their arrival in Rome, deemed it advisable to wait on his Eminence, Cardinal Consalvi, the secretary of state; they were received by this minister with peculiar marks of attention, explained to him the object and tendency of their mission and soon after obtained their introductory audience with his Holiness. In this their first interview, their papers including the resolutions and remonstrance of the Irish prelates were regularly submitted to the Holy Father, but they were directed to refer them for further consideration to the minister of state, by which means they were accordingly detached from the cognizance of the Propaganda and placed in the hands of Cardinal Consalvi. On the 9th of November Father Hayes, through the agency of Cardinal Litta and the General of his order, was admitted to his first audience with the Sovereign Pontiff. Conceiving that the Propaganda was the regular, legitimate tribunal for the investigation of an ecclesiastical subject, such as this had been, he was at first pre-determined not to allow the documents with which he had been intrusted to pass into any other channel. His Holiness, however, was pleased to assure him that the question, important as it was, should be referred for discussion to a congregation of cardinals, that the Prefect of Propaganda should be consulted and that his own peculiar care and inspection should not be wanting. Accordingly the papers of the lay deputation were, together with those of the prelates, referred to the secretary, Cardinal Consalvi.

In the mean time a task of no inferior responsibility remained to be executed. A Vetoistical faction in Rome, composed of Irish and English, had already poisoned the public mind and produced unfavourable impressions even on many of the cardinals by the circulation of the most unfounded misrepresentations; the calumnies of Sir John Cox Hippesley and other political dabblers in ecclesiastical affairs formed no inconsiderable part of the machinery, while the whole

frame-work of the system was artfully kept together by the powerful intrigues of the British Cabinet. These attempts to intimidate the delegates, although defeated, were nevertheless renewed through the assistance which at this time they had obtained from the Vetoistical portion of the Irish press. Among other publications, some numbers of Carrick's Morning Post had been transmitted to Rome, containing a furious paragraph in which the delegation and remonstrance of the laity had been called in question, and representing both as emanating not from the nation but from an unauthorized junta of a few turbulent, hot-headed individuals in Dublin. This statement, however, was but a mere assertion, and besides being anonymous was clearly upset by other authentic documents; in the Propaganda and particularly by Cardinal Litta it was discredited: Consalvi himself was at length constrained to admit the credentials, the remonstrance of the Irish people and the authority of their representative.

During all this time the remonstrances, both lay and clerical, remained in the hands of the secretary, but no step was taken to bring the matter to a discussion: at length he consented to have the whole case submitted to the tribunal for "Ecclesiastical Affairs," a proposal which, for various reasons, must have inspired the delegates with confidence. It removed the transaction considerably out of the hands of the minister of state, and although the business of this court had in a great measure been swayed by the influence of Consalvi, yet the delegates, resting on the merits of their cause, must have anticipated success in any ecclesiastical tribunal, especially in one where many of the authorities were men of discretion, weight and experience. This mode of proceeding had, however, been scarcely determined upon when Cardinal Litta happened to be removed from the scene of affairs. A few days after he was appointed to proceed to Milan, as ambassador extraordinary on a congratulatory deputation to the Emperor of Austria. However, before his departure he

issued a formal notice to Fontana, secretary of the tribunal for "Ecclesiastical Affairs," and at the same time caused explanatory letters to be addressed to Doctors Troy, Poynter and Milner on the nature and tendency of the original Genoese document.

The absence of this amiable and impartial Prelate was only the signal for further procrastination. Various conferences had been held with Consalvi, but no definitive answer was returned; applications were made to Fontana and to the Vice-Prefect, these, however, declined interfering: at length it appeared evident to all competent judges that the consequences of this postponement could be remedied only by removing the case altogether out of the hands of the political minister and submitting it to the cognizance of the Prefect of Propaganda, who in fact was the protector and regularly authorized guardian of the Irish Church. Accordingly on the 22nd of December, Father Hayes obtained an audience with the Holy Father, on which occasion he presented among other papers a memorial, praying that the discussion of the case might be referred to Propaganda, and at the same time entered a solemn protest against the interference of any state officer in a question peculiarly connected with the religious concerns of a nation. This interview terminated with directions to hold these papers over until the return of Cardinal Litta from Milan, to which the delegate respectfully submitted, leaving in the mean time the memorial and the protest against the minister in the hands of his Holiness. About the same time the episcopal delegates had their second audience with the Holy Father, nevertheless the examination of the measure with which they had been commissioned appears to have made no progress whatever. More than three months had elapsed and nothing was obtained but promises on the part of the secretary and expectations that were far from being realized; even the project of submitting the case to the ministerial tribunal for "Ecclesiastical Affairs," ap-

peared to have been abandoned. That no effort might be left untried, an immediate application was made to Cardinal Doria, the Vice-Prefect of Propaganda, but this functionary refused to interfere, at the same time recommending the applicant to await the return of Cardinal Litta and promising him his support.

Such had been the position of affairs when the prelates, on the 5th of January, demanded their passports and prepared for their return to Ireland. On the following day their lordships received from the Cardinal Secretary an official document which appears to have been industriously prepared, and was drawn up not by an ecclesiastical congregation but, as had been supposed, by Monsignor Masio, the private secretary of latin letters to his Holiness. This instrument, so far from being a formal revocation of the Genoese letter, a point on which the delegates insisted, proved on the contrary to be a direct justification of that document; it contained moreover some unmerited remarks on the general proceedings of the episcopal body in Ireland. This letter, unsatisfactory as it was, could not be received. The prelates, on the 8th of January, returned it back to the minister, in consequence of the reasons already assigned, and moreover as it purported to be a reply not only to the remonstrance of the hierarchy but likewise to that of the laity. Their lordships immediately after had their final audience with his Holiness, repeated their objections to the letter of his Eminence, the secretary, and took their leave. Father Hayes, on the following day, obtained his third audience with the Holy Father. This interview which continued for three quarters of an hour afforded the delegate an opportunity of enlarging fully on every bearing of the subject. The Holy Father appeared deeply affected; he felt alarmed too lest the Catholics of Ireland might once more be subjected to persecution. "Holy Father, (replied the delegate,) we dread not persecution; but we dread your Holiness's sanction of a measure which we must resist,

as we would be thereby deprived of those sympathies of the Holy See which have ever consoled us under the fierce trials we have endured for our attachment to the centre of unity." These and other observations made a deep impression on the mind of the Sovereign Pontiff, and he was pleased to promise that the business should be submitted to re-consideration.

The prelates having now proceeded on their journey to Ireland Father Hayes deemed it most advisable to turn his attention to the all-important subject of domestic nomination, and which, under existing circumstances, seemed to be the only means of securing the Irish Church from the intrigues of foreign influence and at the same time of inducing Government to relinquish their demand for the Veto. The Pope, on his part, had no objection whatever to the measure, as he wished not to preserve any real or apparent influence in Ireland that might give umbrage to any party; while Cardinal Litta, who had by this time returned from Milan, had frequently signified that the Holy Congregation entertained no views whatever of patronage and sought only the advancement of merit, resting on proper recommendations with regard to the candidates. His Eminence, although perfectly satisfied to patronize the measure, appeared however somewhat reluctant to enter on its immediate discussion. He observed that the Cardinal Secretary, Consalvi, had already forwarded the letter in a modified state, which had been so nobly rejected by the episcopal delegation; he accordingly judged it more prudent to leave the business untouched until it should be known what reception that document had met with from the prelates of Ireland. An excellent letter from the Right Rev. Doctor Coppinger, which reached the Roman capital at this period, served to give a fatal blow to the already detested spirit of Vetoism. By the special directions of his Holiness this letter was placed in the hands of Cardinal Litta.*

* MS. papers of Rev. R. Hayes.

While the cause of Vetoism was thus tottering in Rome its overthrow was completed by means of an eloquent and powerful discourse delivered in Dublin by the Most Rev. Doctor Murray on the following Good Friday (1816). From the stand which up to this period had been made by the prelates, clergy and people of Ireland against the measure of a Veto, the effrontery of its advocates and the whole train of their proceedings would be altogether incredible had we not the stern testimony of facts arranged in too clear a light before us. Even at this very crisis no artifice was left untried to keep the machinery together: their meetings were generally convened in Eccles-street, and that their resolutions might appear palatable and meet with a favourable reception they were always sure to be qualified and cautiously intermixed with a provisional declaration of obedience to the Holy See. This attempt to impose on the credulity of the public was, however, soon detected; the covering under which it lay concealed was happily removed on that memorable occasion when Doctor Murray, in a strain of pathetic and irresistible eloquence so peculiar to himself, introduced the subject to the attention of an admiring auditory and implored the misguided advocates of Vetoism not to impose new and disgraceful bands on the mystical body of the Redeemer.* The effect

* The passage of the sermon alluded to is as follows: Having arrived at that stage of the Redeemer's passion where he is represented as bound to a pillar, his Grace observes, "To this bound and suffering victim I would now implore the attention of those misguided Catholics who seem willing to impose new and disgraceful bands, not indeed on his sacred person, but on his mystical body, that is, his Church, which was ever more dear to him than his personal liberty—more dear to him than even his life. Does not St. Paul assure us (Eph. v. 26, 27.) that for this mystical body *he delivered himself up . . . that he might present unto himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle . . . but that it should be holy and without blemish*? And could we suppose, that it would be more painful to him to submit his sacred hands to the ignominious cords than to see this Church bound and fettered by restrictions, which would render it less capable of fulfilling the object for which it was formed—the object for which he poured out his most precious life? I know that our mistaken brethren would not consent to yield up any point which *they* deem essential and that they look not beyond what *they* consider safe

produced by this appeal coming from so exalted a character cannot be well described; it made its way like a torrent, while the Vetoists and the cause in which they embarked were alike overwhelmed in the deep and powerful flood of eloquence which now bore down so formidably upon them.

The affairs of the Church of Ireland, which had been hitherto so unaccountably obstructed, were from this time allowed to flow in their proper current; they were removed completely from the control of the Roman court and placed under the management of the Holy See. This revolution was rendered still more successful by the arrival in Rome of the proceedings which took place in the Synod of Kilkenny: they afforded another opportunity of introducing into Propaganda the system of domestic nomination, while his Eminence, the Prefect, was directed by the Pope to inform the prelates of Ireland, that the Holy See would willingly establish that measure, provided a mode was proposed which would meet general satisfaction. Various systems had been suggested from various quarters, but to the Prefect and to the Congregation they appeared unsatisfactory. While the question, although admitted in principle, had been thus postponed and was in imminent danger of being abandoned, Father Hayes undertook to propose a plan, which appeared calculated to reconcile all jarring interests and which, with the exception of some minor details, met with the immediate approbation of the Prefect. Agreeably to this plan, the parish priests, including the members of chapters, were to elect three candi-

and honourable conciliation. But, unhappily, it is now too well known, that the conciliation which is expected is such as would imply the degradation and enslavement of the sacred ministry. And what virtuous Catholic would consent to purchase the chance of temporal advantages at the price of such a real spiritual calamity? Oh! if the stroke must come, let it come from those who have so long sought the extinction of our religion; but, in the name of God, let no Catholic press forward to share in the inglorious work. Let no one among us be found to say of his Church, as the treacherous disciple said of its divine founder: *what will you give me, and I will deliver him (it) unto you?*"—MAT. XXVI. 15.—Dublin Chronicle of 15th April, 1816.

dates; the Metropolitan and his suffragans should then place on record their opinions with respect to the merits of each, and finally the Propaganda should then institute upon their joint testimony. To this was superadded a distinct mode for the nomination of episcopal coadjutors. It ordained that the incumbent prelate should propose the candidate to his parish priests and canons; that these should give their assent by a plurality of votes; that the Metropolitan and suffragans should then transmit their opinions of him, and the Holy Congregation decide accordingly.* Copies of this plan were distributed among the members of the Sacred College and afforded universal satisfaction.

In the mean time various appeals arising out of the collation of parishes having arrived from different parts of Ireland, the establishment of the *Concursus*, according to the Council of Trent, was considered necessary by Propaganda, and letters commanding it were written to some of the bishops. To prevent these frequent appeals and differences it was resolved moreover to renew the diocesan synods, archiepiscopal courts of appeal, the chapters in each diocese and the regular forms of trial in all ecclesiastical causes. Being standing laws of the Church these matters could be enjoined by the Prefect in the ordinary weekly Congress of Propaganda; it was however deemed convenient to establish them in conjunction with domestic nomination. This latter measure, compared with which the *Concursus* and other regulations tended but remotely to prevent Government influence, could not, on the other hand, be effected unless by a formal decree passed in the general monthly Congress at which the cardinals of the Holy Congregation are bound to attend. In this Congress it was proposed, that the affairs connected with the Irish Church should not be brought under discussion, until the expected letters regarding the then contested nominations

* MS. papers and letters of Rev. R. Hayes.

in Clogher and Waterford should arrive; thus was the subject of domestic nomination again submitted to the ordeal of procrastination.

The annual vacations, during which the business of these courts remains suspended, were now approaching; a circumstance which induced the delegate to re-visit his native country: he communicated his intention to Cardinal Litta, had an audience with his Holiness, presented an address of filial attachment in the name of the Irish nation and obtained the apostolic benediction. Yielding, however, to the representations of friends at Rome, Naples and other places, he was prevailed upon to alter his intention; a step which subsequent events proved to be at least imprudent. It was during this interval that he addressed two memorable letters dated the 1st of February, 1717, to some members of the Catholic Board, requesting them to move the appointment of Doctor Dromgole and of the Rev. Count M'Auley, as his co-delegates, both of whom were then residing in Rome and had considerable influence with the Cardinal Secretary and other members of the Sacred College. This demand was not complied with; it appears to have been particularly discountenanced by the temporizing remnant of the Trimbleston-junta.

It was now the close of Lent and various incidents occurred to put off the expected Congress, while in the mean time several printed copies of the letter already alluded to had been transmitted to Rome. Fifteen thousand English were then in the city, having flocked from all quarters of the Continent to behold the majestic ceremonies of the season. The letter was circulated, while the sensation it produced cannot well be described: in the mean time the new Hanoverian Ambassador, the Baron of Ompteda, arrived in Rome. This envoy, who it should be remarked had been previously in England, made an immediate application to the secretary, Cardinal Consalvi, and insisted upon the banishment of the

Irish delegate. This, it appears, was at first refused on the ground of his being a British subject. Recourse was then had to the General of his order, but this dignitary replied, that as no charge of immorality had been brought against Father Hayes, and whereas he appeared in Rome as the delegate of a nation, he was on that account placed altogether beyond his jurisdiction. In the mean time Father Hayes continued to direct his attention to the affairs of Ireland pending in Propaganda, the general Congress of which had been fixed for the 19th of May. The plan of domestic nomination, which he had already submitted, had been printed by Propaganda three weeks previously and distributed to the cardinals who were to attend; various reasons for its adoption were appended thereto, and when the question was put to the Congregation all voted for it, with the exception of Cardinal Fontana, the ex-secretary of the ecclesiastical tribunal. He proposed, by way of amendment, that before the decree would be passed, Cardinal Litta should refer the question to the court of "Ecclesiastical Affairs," to which the latter yielded: thus was lost (for that time,) the question of domestic nomination.*

Only two days had elapsed after the sitting of the late Congress, when Father Hayes received an order of banishment from the Roman States. The cause of this extraordinary proceeding occasioned, as may be supposed, no small conflict of opinion; by some it was attributed to the oppressive severity of the secretary, Cardinal Consalvi, influenced by British intrigue; others were willing to throw the whole blame on the imprudent demeanour of the delegate: on this subject, however, an official document addressed soon after to the Catholic Board, and which shall be presently noticed, must be considered the surest and best expositor. At length and while suffering under a malignant fever, Father Hayes was arrested in the Convent of St. Isodore, which was taken

* MS. papers and letters of Rev. R. Hayes.

by escalade on the 28th of May. Here he continued under the custody of a guard for the space of eight weeks, and on the 16th of July was carried out of the Roman States by an under officer of Gendarmerie or Brigadier. After a journey of four days, they entered the frontiers of Tuscany, when the officer delivered to him a passport of banishment and on the 24th of September he arrived in his native country. A circumstantial report of all these proceedings was presented by the delegate to the Catholic Board on the 13th of the following December. In a general meeting of the Board, held in Dublin on the 19th of July, 1817, they addressed a remonstrance to his Holiness, Pius VII, in which they complain that no answer had been returned to their former communication; stating, moreover, that the consummation of their disappointment was accomplished by the banishment of their faithful delegate. This remonstrance was replied to by a letter bearing the signature of the Sovereign Pontiff and dated the 21st of February, 1818. In this document two reasons are assigned for pointing out the inexpediency of returning a distinct answer to the original remonstrance from the laity: first, because a sufficient reply had been already given on the subject to the episcopal delegation; and secondly, the language employed in the remonstrance of the laity was considered disrespectful and unbecoming their professions of devotion to the Holy See. With respect to the banishment of the delegate, it disclaims every idea of foreign influence in the transaction; adding withal, that his deportment was unworthy the member of a religious institute, his intemperate writings and incessant aspersions on the Roman Government, and at length his offensive expressions to the Sovereign Pontiff himself had been such that his conduct could not be any longer over-looked without an abandonment of personal dignity.*

* The above are the expressions employed in the original.—See *Orthodox Journal* of July, 1818.

Both these documents having been produced and read at a numerous meeting of Catholics held at D'Arcy's Tavern, in Essex-street, on the 1st of June immediately following, Father Hayes came forward and opened a paper containing a written declaration which he read to the meeting.*

From this period the labours of this unwearied and highly gifted man were exclusively devoted to the duties of his ministry. An instance of his attachment to the religion of

* This declaration is as follows :

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen—Before any discussion arise upon the document which has been just read, I beg for a moment the favour of your attention. I have always made it a rule to sacrifice my private feelings and advantage to the public weal. Hence, acting at Rome in my official capacity, faithful to my trust, no blandishment, no terror could warp me from what I conceived to be my duty. Addressing the mild and venerable Father of the faithful, or surprised in my bed of sickness by an armed force, I endeavoured, according to the best of my judgment, to exhibit in my conduct the feelings and principles of my constituents.

"But my delegated character has long since expired : I have now no public duty to perform ; no public principle is involved in my conduct ; I stand before this meeting a private individual ; therefore, my every duty of *public* becomes *personal*.

"If the document now read censures my conduct whilst at Rome, I stop not to inquire whether it be authentic or not ; whether its charges be vague or specific, whether proved or otherwise. I stop not to investigate how the name of his Holiness came to be attached to it : whether it be the result of legal or canonical discussion ; or whether those who deprived me of my liberty have succeeded in depriving me of my character in the eyes of the Sovereign Pontiff. I stop not to ask why the document did not precede my arrest ; why it has been issued a twelvemonth later ; in a word, why the indictment should follow the punishment—*enough for me if the Holy Father has been pleased to censure my conduct*.

"By faith a Catholic, by ordination a priest, by obedience a child of the Holy See, I bow with unhesitating submission, respect and veneration to the centre of catholicism and source of ecclesiastical subordination, the vicegerent of Jesus Christ. I solemnly declare, that I should choose death rather than allow any private or personal feeling or consideration to betray me into the slightest contest with or disrespect towards the authority or dignity of the head of the Catholic church, Pope Pius VII. My tongue shall never utter a syllable of complaint, nor my pen trace a line of vindication ; for, least scandal should arise, in the words of the Prophet, I exclaim, "Take me up, and cast me into the sea."

"From this moment, therefore, I publicly announce myself unconnected with every proceeding to which this document may give rise ; and this my declaration I shall, without delay, transmit to Rome ; prostrating myself at the feet of the Holy Father, expressing my poignant regret that my conduct in any respect should have given him offence ; humbly imploring his forgiveness and assuring him of my obedience and readiness to comply with any further form of satisfaction which in his paternal wisdom and goodness he may vouchsafe to command."

his forefathers is to be found in the promptitude and firmness with which he spurned an invitation which he soon after received from a numerous and powerful schismatical congregation formed about that time in South Carolina. This communication, which was dated the 17th of February, 1819, and was conveyed through the agency of the Rev. Thomas Carbery, a priest residing in New York, was an avowed attack on the great Catholic principle of Unity, and contained some furious invectives against the authority of the Holy See. It recommended Father Hayes to proceed to Utrecht, where a schismatical prelate had been already engaged to invest him with episcopal consecration; he was then to enter on the mission of Carolina, to consecrate other prelates, cut off all connexion whatever with the head of the Church, and thus introduce the doctrine and discipline of the Utrecht conventicle into North America. Immediately on receipt of this document Father Hayes denounced the whole of this daring attempt at schism to the Most Rev. Doctor Troy: he at the same time drew up an Italian translation of the document itself, both of which together with his own prompt and noble denunciation of this dangerous conspiracy he instantly transmitted to the Holy Father through the medium of Cardinal Fontana, then Prefect of the Propaganda. To this communication Father Hayes, on the 26th of August, 1819, received the following reply.

“Rev. Father—I have presented to his Holiness your letter of the 14th of April, of this year (1819,) by which you denounce to the Holy Father a conspiracy formed in North America for the purpose of having bishops independently of the Holy See, and in which you also state that you yourself had been invited to obtain consecration from the Bishop of Utrecht, and thence to proceed to the United States for the purpose of consecrating other bishops in that district. His Holiness *has been highly pleased with your conduct* in this emergency. As much as the reprobate attempt which appears

in the letter addressed to you by some misguided Catholics of the United States of America is highly to be deplored, in the same degree is the proceeding of your Reverence on this occasion to be commended; in bringing immediately to the knowledge of his Holiness so detestable an attempt, which, however, we hope in the divine mercy, will disappear without leaving a trace behind. I congratulate you on having in this contingency manifested by so dutiful an act those sentiments of attachment to the Catholic religion—of fidelity, respect and submission which you had previously expressed; and while I pray the Lord to grant you every happiness, I at the same time recommend myself to your prayers.*

“F. CARD. FONTANA, Prefect,

“C. M. PEDICINI, Secretary.

“Rome—Propaganda, Aug. 26th, 1819.”

The painful ordeal, to which this able and persevering man had been hitherto subjected, now wrought its natural effect on a constitution otherwise healthy and vigorous, and prevented him from perfecting several literary works which he had already in a state of considerable progress. He published, in 1823, a collection of Sermons on both moral and doctrinal subjects; they were greatly admired, but to deliver them with effect and do them justice the Rev. Author himself should be the preacher. The state of his health becoming still more alarming, he was recommended by his physicians to remove to France; he accordingly proceeded to Paris in which city he died on the 25th of January, 1824, and was interred in the cemetery of Pere la Chese. A splendid monument, with an epitaph descriptive of his virtues, his learning and his patriotism was soon after erected over his remains.

From the period of the late delegation, the spirit of Vetoism began rapidly to decline; like a malignant distemper, the

* MS. papers of Rev. R. Hayes.

progress which it made and the panic which it created was felt intensely by the nation, but it met with a noble resistance and was at length obliged to yield to the powerful, moral constitution of a religious, determined people. Various causes combined at this time to give the fatal blow to Vetoism. The opposition of the clergy of every rank became as unanimous as it was loud and decisive—they were, in short, resolved to continue for ever in chains sooner than expose to imminent risk that precious deposit which had been long since consecrated by the blood of their predecessors. Moreover, the attitude which the Catholic Board now presented was not to be looked upon with indifference. Seven millions of people insisting on their natural claims to freedom, encompassed with the sympathies of the civilized world and resting on constitutional grounds were not to be silenced by such a conditional, qualified restoration of their rights: they were well convinced that civil liberty ought not to be obtained at the expense of religion; they were equally convinced that they stood fairly entitled to both and accordingly resolved that with nothing less would they be satisfied. Add to this the posture in which the question of a Veto now stood at Rome. It was removed to Propaganda, the proper, legitimate tribunal for its discussion; while in Ireland it was completely unmasked by the conduct of its original parliamentary supporters, with whom an unlimited control in the appointment of Catholic prelates, tantamount to a direct and efficient one, was its peculiar and now openly avowed definition. Finally, the luminous, convincing evidence, produced in London during the year 1825 by members of the Irish hierarchy including the late Doctor Doyle, appears to have set the measure at rest for ever; a circumstance which naturally leads us to the eventful history of that learned and illustrious Prelate.

Doctor James Doyle was descended from an ancient and highly respectable family residing at Brianstown, in the County of Wexford: he was the youngest of six brothers

and was born in the year 1786 at Donard, a district in the parish of Poulpeasty and same county. In obedience to that predominant inclination, which in early youth he had imbibed for the ecclesiastical state, he repaired in the eighteenth year of his age to the Augustinian Convent of Grants-town, in the County of Wexford, where he made his novitiate under the Rev. F. Butler and was admitted to his solemn vows. With a view of completing his studies he proceeded during the spring of 1806 to Coimbra in Portugal, where he entered on his Theological course which he continued to prosecute with brilliant and unexampled success. Just at this period the Peninsula overrun by the influx of contending armies presented an awfully desolating scene; those retreats of literature, in which the youth of Ireland had for so many ages met a welcome reception, became completely deserted, and in 1809 James Doyle, accompanied by several other Irish students, was obliged to return to his native land. Even at this early period his talents were soon appreciated: he entered the Augustinian Seminary at Ross, then conducted by the Rev. Philip Crane, where he taught Theology until 1813, in which year he removed to the College of Carlow. Here he became Professor of Humanity; on the following year he taught Philosophy and was ultimately advanced to the chair of Theology and of sacred Scripture. The duties of this important situation he continued to discharge with singular applause until the year 1819, when the united Sees of Kildare and Leighlin became vacant by the death of the Right Rev. Doctor Corcoran. Merits, such as this highly-gifted man possessed, were sure of being recognized by the intelligent and spirited clergy of this ancient diocess: he was the first of the three nominated by the parish priests, a proceeding which met with the immediate concurrence of the bishops of the province. Doctor Doyle was accordingly consecrated in the parish Chapel of Carlow on the 14th of November, 1819.

The period at which this illustrious ecclesiastic had been

elevated to the episcopal dignity may well be numbered as one among those eventful epochs, according to which the transactions of the Church of Ireland might be historically classified. A nation appears mighty in numbers, wealth and intelligence, yet reviled, rejected and oppressed; enslaved for centuries, but now determined to be so no longer—ages of uninterrupted persecution rolled on and finished their course, while the religion of the country and its priesthood outlived the storm and became more compact and stronger than ever—violence and terror having failed, schemes of state policy were substituted in their place—the Veto was still demanded, a law-provision for the Catholic clergy was alike proposed—the cry of the bigot became furious, and the truths of the Catholic Church were once more beset with misrepresentations of every grade and with the vilest calumnies. A visitation charge, delivered in 1822 by Doctor Magee, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, so far from attaining the object contemplated by the morality of the Gospel, served in no small degree to inflame the already irritated feelings of the nation. The inconsistencies with which it abounded were nothing more than the natural result of his own peculiar system, they might have been overlooked as unworthy of public attention, but they were accompanied with offensive inferences and were made the ground-work of a malignant and an unprovoked attack on the religious principles of all those who in matters practical or speculative had thought proper to differ from himself. The Presbyterians, for instance, were designated as a people who had a religion without a church; while on the other hand the Catholics were represented as having a church, but devoid of religion. This discourse of Archbishop Magee, censured as it had been by every sensible, well-meaning man, occasioned immediately after some beautiful, interesting letters under the signature of J. K. L., from the pen of Doctor Doyle.

On the following year his "Vindication of the religious and

civil principles of the Irish Catholics" made its appearance. Since the days of Tertullian, so eloquent and powerful a defence of Christian truths has perhaps in no instance proceeded from the human intellect—it may indeed be termed an immortal production—its substantial merits, however, are to be traced to those healing and beneficial effects which it produced on the public mind not only at the time of its appearance but even at every distinct period since its publication. While the lovers of order and of mutual good-will felt delighted at the conciliatory tone in which its language had been conveyed, the intolerance of the day shrunk beneath the mighty, irresistible arguments which pervaded its entire composition. Alluding to some of the advantages derived by mankind from the genius of Catholicity and to its compatibility with all the fundamental principles of freedom, the Vindication observes: "It was the creed of a Charlemagne and of a St. Louis, of an Alfred and an Edward, of the monarchs of the feudal times as well as of the emperors of Greece and Rome; it was believed at Venice and at Genoa, in Lucca and the Helvetic nations in the days of their freedom and greatness; all the barons of the middle ages, all the free cities of later times professed the religion we now profess. The Charter of British freedom and the common law of England have their origin in Catholic times. Who framed the free constitution of the Goths? who preserved science and literature during the long night of the middle ages? who imported literature from Constantinople and opened for her an asylum at Rome, Florence, Padua, Paris and Oxford? who polished Europe by art and refined her by legislation? who discovered the New World and opened a passage to another? who were the masters of Architecture, of Painting and of Music? who were the poets, the historians, the jurists, the men of deep research and profound literature? were they not almost exclusively the professors of our creed? why then has the Irish nation been rebuked, assailed, reviled? But all this

they suffer, because they are a people struggling by legal means to obtain their birth-right against a faction who would live by wrong and fatten on the vitals of the country."

This admirable production was soon after followed by a series of letters on the state of Ireland, adapted to the religious and political circumstances of the day and presenting a rare combination of eloquence, patriotism and philosophy. The nerve and unlaboured simplicity of the diction, together with the justness of the remarks with which they abounded, rendered them perhaps the most popular literary collection that had ever been published in this country; the paramount national good which resulted from them has been decidedly acknowledged by men of all parties and entitles their highly-gifted author to the thanks and gratitude of posterity.

The bill introduced by Mr. Plunket in 1821, with its Vetoistical and other provisional securities, had passed the Commons, but was thrown out by a majority of thirty-nine in the House of Lords.* Ever since that time the outcry against Catholic principles and Catholic security became every day more clamorous, the venal hireling and the malignant bigot vied with each other in vilifying and in holding up to scorn the conscientious opinions of the vast majority of their countrymen, while the press in both countries was, with few exceptions, disgracefully purchased and kept actively employed in abusing that liberty with which it had been invested and which in fact is the noblest and best privilege of which it can boast. To overturn the workings of this combination and to afford injured innocence an opportunity of

* The sensation created by this bill throughout Ireland was almost unprecedented. On its publication the clergy assembled in every diocese of the kingdom and manfully denounced it. The following resolution of the clergy of the diocese of Cloyne may be taken as a sample of those passed in other places. "Resolved—That we enter our earnest protest against this bill of religious restrictions, and solemnly declare that it is our firm conviction that no Roman Catholic Priest can, with a safe conscience, subscribe to the oath which it proposes, or sanction the unprecedented innovations which it introduces into the discipline of our Church."

entering into a vindication of itself, it was deemed advisable to summon some of the heads of the Irish Catholic clergy before a committee of the Lords and Commons in London, and to receive their evidence on questions connected with the religious and political state of Ireland. Doctor Doyle was on this occasion particularly selected together with the Archbishops of Dublin, Armagh and Tuam, and Doctor Magauran, Bishop of Ardagh. To estimate the value of these interesting examinations, it would be necessary in the first place to be perfectly acquainted with the nature and extent of these almost incredible and indeed numberless calumnies which had, we may say, for centuries been gathering round the ancient and venerable creed of this country, and which now, when the sword and the gibbet became incompatible with national existence, had acquired a degree of malignity unknown perhaps in the bitterest days of general undisguised persecution. From the authorized parliamentary report of this evidence the genuine history of these misrepresentations is to be accurately gathered. It must indeed have been carried to an extravagant excess when an enlightened committee of a national legislature had found it advisable to direct its interrogatories not only to matters incidentally connected with social duties, but even to abstract, speculative and devotional practices. The Catholic doctrine relative to the invocation of saints, to purgatory, indulgences and other points was subjected to an explanatory process, and those misstatements, which had been a thousand times rebutted, are again on this official occasion distinctly proposed, for the purpose, it is presumed, of having them authoritatively disclaimed and set at rest for ever. To what an extent had not this propensity for misrepresentation been carried, when it was supposed that the disclosure of some crimes, such as murder and treason, when confessed in the sacred tribunal, had been tolerated at Rome; that indulgences extended to the remission of the temporal consequences with respect to

crimes to be committed, and that among the Catholic clergy a notion had been generally entertained of transferring the temporalities of the established Church to their own.— Various questions arising out of these and other subjects had been proposed to Doctor Doyle during the course of these examinations and were followed by a reply which, in the judgment even of the most prejudiced, could not fail to have afforded complete satisfaction. But the prominent and leading topics of this evidence were those which related to the supreme authority of the Pope, to the question of the Veto and to that of domestic nomination. With respect to the first of these subjects Doctor Doyle observed, that the authority of the Pope is merely spiritual and that it is limited by decrees of councils and also by usage; so that when he directs any decree respecting local discipline to any nation beyond the limits of his own territory, or the papal states, the assent of the bishops of such country is necessary, in order that his decree should have effect. In reply to the second question, the interference of the Crown in the appointment of Irish bishops, and which had now for so many years kept the country in constant agitation, he would, he said, object to any arrangement, even sanctioned by the Pope, which would go to give an influence, direct or indirect, to the Sovereign in the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland. The third and last subject, that of domestic nomination, was one which, in his opinion, could be easily and satisfactorily adjusted by a concordat with the Sovereign Pontiff; “and I should (he adds,) be more anxious that it were made, because it would secure to us always a domestic prelacy, and it would remove from us the possibility of the Pope ever interfering more than he now does in the appointments to our Church.*

There was another question which was included among the

* Evidence before the Commons, p. 44.

securities, and which had given rise to much unpleasant discussion at this period; it was that which had a reference to pensions to be derived by the clergy from the crown. On this subject Doctor Doyle declared that he would much prefer deriving his support from the contributions of the poor people for whom he laboured; if, however, this measure should be demanded as an indispensable step to the settlement of the great national question then under discussion, and if any opposition on his part should be considered an obstacle to its attainment, he was satisfied to give his assent to the principle of such an arrangement, provided these intended pensions should be founded on law, and not emanate as a *Regium Donum* from the Treasury. He likewise required that due time should be given to the prelates, clergy and people of Ireland, for the purpose of taking the whole project into their consideration. In no sense whatever would he accept of it as a mere bounty from the Crown. "If (said he,) the prelates approve of a provision emanating from the Treasury, if the ministers of Christ were to be paid by the minister of state for dispensing the mysteries of God, in that case I would not create dissensions amongst them, but sooner than my hand should be soiled by it, I would lay down my office at the feet of him who conferred it; for if my hand were to be stained with government money, it should never grasp a crozier, nor should a mitre be ever afterwards fitted to my brow."

The report of these important examinations had from the very first day occasioned an unusual degree of interest throughout the nation. The intolerants as well as the Catholics awaited with solicitude the result of this public inquiry; their motives, however, were widely different. It was considered by the Catholics as the best and perhaps the only effectual medium for removing for ever those numberless calumnies which had been for so long a time thrown out against their religious and political principles; by the opposite

party it was selected as a fit opportunity for discomfitting the advocates of the Catholic religion, and by their overthrow setting up a renewed outcry against the claims and long withheld rights of the whole nation. From the manœuvres of some individuals it was evidently intended as a scene of acrimony and insult, while Doctor Doyle was the capital object against whom the united force of the faction was to be chiefly levelled. Never, perhaps, has there been witnessed a more complete and mortifying disappointment; seldom, indeed, so decisive, so successful a victory. His intimate and perfect acquaintance with the principles and details of each subject, the perspicuity and irresistible self-evidence which throughout had accompanied his illustrations, his own innate conviction, his very tone and manner, all bespoke the vast, decided superiority of this singularly gifted Prelate and made him appear in the midst of his interrogators as an instructor who, from motives of pity and humanity, had come amongst them to deliver a public lecture on the grand, sublime elements of religion, philosophy and sound, rational government. The vantage ground on which he stood was admitted by all; even many of the adverse party had been forced to look on with silent amazement and retired from the scene under manifest impressions of disappointment and confusion.

If the claims of the Catholics had not been on this occasion conceded, if the evidence of Doctor Doyle, irresistible and conclusive as it was, had not been immediately followed by that desirable event, it must at all events be allowed to have been a powerful auxiliary; it removed misrepresentation, disarmed prejudice, disabused the public mind and placed both the religious and social principles of the Catholics in a clear, fair and natural light before the eyes of the nation. With the testimony of Doctor Doyle that of the other Prelates, the Most Rev. Doctors Murray, Curtis and Kelly and the Right Rev. Doctor Magauran, were equally characteris-

tic; to which with great propriety should be subjoined the comprehensive and luminous evidence of the Rev. N. Slevins, an able and learned priest of the Diocese of Ardagh.

To the publication of various letters, tracts and essays on education, public morality, poor laws and the Catholic claims, the fruits of Doctor Doyle's literary labours after this period, the Irish nation and the empire at large must be for ever indebted. He lived to see the long-desired measure of Emancipation triumphantly carried through both Houses of Parliament, and in a few years after this great and good Prelate closed his short but brilliant career. The admiration in which he was held during life was equalled only by the sorrow felt and expressed by the nation on the announcement of his death. Doctor Doyle died on the 15th of June, 1834, and in the 48th year of his age.

The cause of religious toleration was, for the last twenty years, making rapid advances; its progress, under the auspices of the Catholic Association, became irresistible.—That powerful body, soon after its foundation in 1823, began to assume a lofty and a commanding position; representing, as it did, the feelings and wishes of seven millions of people, its heart-touching appeals reached the most distant quarters of Europe, they were carried across the wide Atlantic and were responded to from the free shores of the American continent. National enthusiasm contributed with wealth and influence to give importance to its proceedings; the talent and eloquence of the country were arrayed in its cause, and the basis on which that cause rested was nothing else than the sacred and immutable principles of eternal justice.—While a variety of circumstances had thus tended to render the Catholic Association of Ireland an object of admiration to every lover of freedom, its vitality, its moral power and its triumphant issue were all centred in that extraordinary man and greatest of patriots, DANIEL O'CONNELL. From him it originated, under him it grew up a formidable but constitu-

tionally organized body; it was secured by his vigilance, it was animated by the brilliancy of his eloquence and it imbibed that genius and spirit of universal freedom which formed so distinguished an ingredient in the character of that celebrated leader. The sufferings of a brave and a patient people have now awakened the sympathies of every thinking man—the honest, independent portion of the Protestant community is aroused—the liberal press volunteers its powerful aid—the nobility and gentry of the nation assemble in Dublin, and the moment ordained by an all-wise and an inscrutable Providence having at length arrived, the Catholics of the British empire are emancipated.

CHAPTER II.

Successors of St. Patrick—Episcopal Sees—Religious Foundations of the Nineteenth Century.

PATRICK CURTIS, the immediate successor of the Primate Richard O'Reilly, was born in the parish of Stamullin and County of Meath, about the year 1747. The avocations of a mercantile life, in which at an early age he had for a short period been engaged, were but ill-suited to that love for retirement and other rare qualities which so peculiarly marked his disposition; his inclination for the ecclesiastical state rose superior to every worldly consideration and at length induced him to withdraw from his native country, where even still the advantage of a collegiate course of studies was most unwisely precluded. He repaired to Salamanca, a city memorable for its attention to Irish students: here he completed his ecclesiastical course and acquired such reputation that the government of the Irish College founded here, in 1582, was committed to his management. If the virtues and learning of those eminent men, who had at this time been the Alumni of the Irish College in Salamanca, their veneration for Doctor Curtis and the number of years during which he presided over the establishment be allowed as criterions, we may be entitled to state that his administration had been a singular blessing—no less creditable to himself than to those from whom he had received his appointment. Doctor Curtis had now spent thirty years in the College of Salamanca, when the Peninsula became the scene of warlike preparations, and Spain, once the asylum of religion and peace, is changed into a land of anarchy and terror. During the vicissitudes of this memorable campaign Doctor Curtis by his intimate acquaint-

ance with the language of the nation, its localities and the manners of its inhabitants rendered an inestimable service to the Duke of Wellington in his difficult operations; he furnished suggestions founded on his own experience and had many of the students employed as interpreters and distributed among the officers commanding in the various garrisons. These acts, which a respect for his own countrymen and a concern for the Spanish nation had prompted, raised him exceedingly in the estimation of the Commander-in-chief; they were attended with personal acknowledgements and the honour of a subsequent correspondence.

Having devoted thirty years to the superintendence of the Irish College in Salamanca Doctor Curtis returned to his native country, where as a token of the admiration in which his virtues were held he was advanced to the metropolitan See of Armagh on the death of the Primate, Richard O'Reilly, and was consecrated on the 28th of October, 1819. By the moderate and steady tenor of his conduct he became a favourite with all parties: the Corporation of Drogheda, laying aside their inherent bigotry, presented him his freedom with a gold box; but this distinction, however flattering, could never incline him to depart from the honest line of rectitude, and whenever he found that corporate body in error, as was generally the case on every national measure, he always voted against them. When the heads of the Irish Catholic hierarchy were summoned before a Parliamentary Committee, in 1825, the evidence of this Prelate could scarcely fail of making a lasting impression; the candour, wisdom and consistency of his observations enhanced by his mild and venerable appearance commanded the most respectful attention from men of every creed and of every political party. His paternal regard for the religious orders was manifested on various occasions; at his death he bequeathed small legacies to each of the regular communities established in the town of Drogheda. The Primate, Patrick Curtis, presided

over the metropolitan See until June, 1832, in which year he died, universally beloved and no less deeply regretted.

His successor, the Most Rev. Doctor Kelly, was a native of the Archdiocese of Armagh, an Alumnus of the College of Maynooth, and ultimately Bishop of Dromore, from which see he was translated to Armagh as Coadjutor to the Primate, Patrick Curtis. The incumbency of this truly amiable Prelate continued but a few years; he died in Drogheda on the 13th of January, 1835, and was succeeded by the present Primate, the Most Rev. William Crolly.— This learned and venerable Prelate was born in the County of Down, and having completed his studies at Maynooth his merits entitled him to be raised to the distinguished situation of lecturer in philosophy. On the decease of Doctor Ferris, in 1809, Doctor Crolly professed moral theology, and ultimately succeeded Doctor Anglade in the chair of logic and metaphysics; the duties of which office he continued to discharge with brilliant success for several years.— His profound learning and other endearing qualities had already fitted him for a still more exalted station in the Church of his native country; accordingly on the 1st of May, 1825, he was consecrated Bishop of Down and Connor by the Primate, Doctor Curtis, and fixed his residence in Belfast. The services which Doctor Crolly has rendered to religion and to society in that influential town are too well known and appreciated to require any passing eulogy: his prudent zeal and learned instructions tempered with Christian moderation have entwined around his name and his memory a wreath which shall ever flourish fair and vigorous in the recollections of that intelligent and grateful people. On the 8th of May, 1835, Doctor Crolly was translated to the Archiepiscopal See of Armagh, and on the following year was invested with the pallium.

Thus have we succeeded in bringing down an uninterrupted and a triumphant series of prelates in the primatial chair of

Armagh from the introduction of Christianity into Ireland by St. Patrick to the present day, including a period of one thousand four hundred years. During that time states and empires have risen and fallen, the reigning powers of many nations have disappeared, the ancient line of monarchs were seen broken and their thrones crumbling beneath the shock of political revolution, meanwhile the primatial succession in this ancient see, and the whole venerable hierarchy of Ireland, like the rock on which they rested, have braved the fury of the darkened storm; and no state intrigue, no ordeal of persecution, no laws of blood or power on earth was able to crush the building which the great Apostle of the nation had founded and which was so triumphantly supported by the strong arm of the Most High.

The leading, interesting questions, which during the nineteenth century had engaged the consideration of the Irish hierarchy, were those of the Veto and of domestic nomination. The former of these may be said to have been buried in its political grave on that memorable occasion when the evidence of the Irish prelates was submitted before the Parliamentary Committee of 1825; the settlement of domestic nomination is to be numbered among the occurrences of that eventful year, 1829. When his Holiness, Pius VII, returned from his captivity, in 1814, five of the ancient sees of Ireland were vacant, namely, Tuam, Elphin, Killala, Ossory and Ardagh; at the same time several of our prelates advanced in years and worn down with the cares of a heavy ministry were hastening fast to that kingdom where labour and sorrow are never known. Doctor Troy, the venerable Archbishop of Dublin, had already in 1809 provided for his see by the consecration of the Most Rev. Daniel Murray, as Archbishop of Hierapolis and Coadjutor of Dublin. This latter Prelate, the memory of whose virtues shall flourish for ever in the future records of his native country, was born on the 18th of April, 1768, at Sheepwalk, in the Parish of Redcross and

County of Wicklow. He received his education in the Irish College at Salamanca and at the period of his promotion to the archiepiscopal chair was attached to the Parish of St. Mary, in the City of Dublin. On the death of Doctor Troy, in 1823, he succeeded to the government of the archdiocese.—His steady and zealous exertions during the discussion of the Veto need not, it is presumed, be recapitulated in this place;* while it must be observed that his powerful and convincing evidence, in 1825, contributed to reflect new lustre on the principles of Catholicity and to heal those wounds of his country which bigotry and misrepresentation would be still anxious to perpetuate.

The question of domestic nomination, which had formed so fruitful a subject for discussion both in Ireland and in Rome, was universally admitted in principle; the only difficulty that arose was that which regarded the mode. At length, in 1829, a decree emanated from the Propaganda, and this point of discipline so interesting to the Church of Ireland was finally established. According to this decree, whenever a see becomes vacant a vicar is to be appointed agreeably to the form prescribed by the canons. In the mean time the Metropolitan, having been made acquainted with the vacancy, is by letters mandatory to enjoin the vicar that on the twentieth day from the date thereof he is to assemble all the parish priests of the diocese, who are free from censures and in actual possession of their parishes, together with the canons of said diocese, should a chapter therein exist, that they may recommend to the Supreme Pontiff three candidates, each of whom would be worthy to be advanced to the vacant see. The vicar, having been furnished with the letter of the Metropolitan, is within eight days after the receipt thereof to notify the same to the parish priests and canons; stating moreover the day and place of meeting.—

* See Chap. I.

At this meeting the Metropolitan is to preside, or one of his suffragan prelates, delegated by him; he is to be furnished with a list of the names of all those who are entitled to vote, and these names are to be publicly called by the secretary. Should one or more of the parish priests be absent, the vicar must certify that regular notice had been given to said persons; moreover, the proceedings of the meeting are valid, provided one-fourth of the parish priests and of the canons should be present. Such as are absent, from infirmity or other proper cause, are entitled to transmit their suffrage in writing (to the president,) by any parish priest or canon of the diocese; provided it be accompanied by the certificate of two medical men, and that the said parish priest in recording his suffrage had declared in the presence of two parish priests or canons that in this act he was altogether uninfluenced by either favour or affection. The names of the three persons who have the greater number of votes are then to be announced by the President; after which two copies of the proceedings are to be drawn up, one of them to be transmitted to Rome by the vicar, the other to be referred by the Metropolitan to his suffragans. The bishops of the province having assembled are in a solemn manner to place on record their judgment and opinion as to the merits of the three priests aforesaid, which document is to be confirmed by their signatures and transmitted by the president (their Metropolitan or in his absence the senior prelate,) to the Apostolic See. Should the bishops consider the said three priests as unqualified, the Pope, by the plenitude of his power, is to provide for the see. The same order is to be observed in the recommendation of coadjutors. The individuals recommended must be natives of Ireland, gifted moreover with those qualifications which the exalted dignity of the episcopal state so imperatively requires. Finally, these proceedings are not to be termed an election, postulation or nomination, but simply a recommendation; while it must be understood that

the Holy See is by no means bound to elect any one of the three thus recommended.

According as those barriers which had for so long a period separated the Catholics of Ireland from their natural rights began to be removed, the evidence which this people afforded of their attachment and zeal for the ancient religion of the country can scarcely find a parallel in the annals of any other nation. In no instance perhaps is this characteristic zeal more nobly displayed than in the foundation of literary asylums and in the erection of temples for the worship of the Most High. Notwithstanding the rapid decline of trade, the want of a protecting legislature, the necessity of a resident nobility and the general distress which is known to pervade the great mass of the population of Ireland, the Catholics have, out of their own limited, scanty resources, reared up and decorated cathedrals and churches of such exquisite workmanship and splendour as might do honour to any nation even in the brightest era of ecclesiastical architecture. Among the cathedrals may be noticed that founded by the Most Rev. Doctor Troy in the Metropolis, in 1815, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary: the cathedral of Carlow erected during the incumbency of Doctor Doyle: and the magnificent cathedral of Tuam. Besides these cathedrals the number of spacious and beautiful churches, which during the first twenty-nine years of this century have been erected in almost every diocese throughout Ireland, would, if particularly noticed, extend this analysis beyond its intended limits. In the Metropolis alone they present themselves in almost every direction; each completed in a style of costly magnificence, and all of them executed with such wonderful despatch as strikes the mind not only of the stranger but even of the very inhabitants with astonishment. Such indeed are the impressions which this wonderful progress of Catholicity is calculated to create; when, however, the zeal of the Irish Catholics and the love which they

cherish for their religion are considered, this circumstance, surprising as it may appear, is at once satisfactorily explained.

The members of the religious communities in Ireland continue in the nineteenth century to afford their useful missionary co-operation, but the number of convents which they occupy is comparatively limited.*

Those foundations, in which their predecessors flourished, have long since become a mass of ruins; they serve, however, to remind us of the zeal, sufferings and heroism of these great men, and of the religious spirit of other and better days. Some few of these ancient convents have been repaired and beautified: the Black Abbey in Kilkenny was fitted out in a style of superior elegance and opened for the celebration of the sacred mysteries in 1817; those of Clonmel and Fethard immediately after; and the retired, beautiful Abbey of Multifernam about the year 1830. The Calced Carmelites in Dublin have erected a magnificent church and convent on the very site where their ancient foundation stood (Whitefriar-street); while the Discalced Carmelites in Loughrea have completed their church on the ground which their

* The DOMINICANS are at present located in Dublin, Kilkenny, Athy, Newbridge, Cork, Limerick, Drogheda, Dundalk, Galway, Esler, Portumna and Sligo. The FRANCISCANS have convents in Dublin, Wexford, Athlone, Multifernam, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Clonmel, Carrick-on-Suir, Thurles, Curragheen, Ennis, Drogheda, Galway, Clare-Galway and Melick. The convents of the AUGUSTINIANS are those of Dublin, Ross, Bannow, Callan, Athlone, Cork, Limerick, Dungarvan, Fethard, Tipperary, Drogheda, Galway and Ballyhaunes. The CALCED CARMELITES are situated in Dublin, Kildare, Knocktopher, Moate, Kinsale, Tohergan, County of Roscommon, and Balingmale, County of Mayo. The DISCALCED CARMELITIS have convents in Dublin and Loughrea; and several nunneries among which are those of New Ross, founded in 1818, Loughrea and Rehoboth near Dublin. This order at one period had convents in Dublin, Meath, Kinsale, Loughrea, Galway and three other places. Owing, however, to the ravages of persecution, most of these are now numbered among the ruins of the country.—The CAPUCHINS have convents in Dublin, Kilkenny and Cork; there were fourteen convents belonging to this order in Ireland, among which those of Dublin, Kilkenny, Cork, Limerick and Drogheda were the most considerable. To these must be added the invaluable establishments of the Jesuits in Dublin, Clongowes Wood, situated in the County of Kildare, and Tullabeg, in the King's County.

predecessors enjoyed and adjacent to the ivy-clad but well preserved ruins of their original establishment. To this foundation the Clanrickarde family have, both in ancient times and to the present day, proved themselves munificent patrons.

The advantages which during this century Ireland has derived from the several communities of religious females are truly incalculable. Among these, the nuns of the Presentation order and the Sisters of Charity and of Mercy may be particularly noticed. The Presentation order owes its foundation to Miss Nagle, a devout lady residing in Cork about the year 1780, while its constitutions were arranged by the Very Rev. Laurence Callanan, a saintly and learned Franciscan of that city,* and were patronized by that zealous and venerable Prelate, the Right Rev. Doctor Moylan. Besides the usual vows, these religious bind themselves to the laborious and most useful duty of conveying the blessings of a moral education to the poor. Next to the parent institution

* LAURENCE CALLANAN was born in the City of Cork about the year 1739.— Having embraced the Franciscan institute and completed his studies in the Irish Convent of St. Anthony at Louvain he returned to his native city and entered on his missionary duties, in the convent of his order, Broad-lane. Being deeply versed in ecclesiastical literature he was for many years Master of Conference in the Diocese of Cork, while the sanctity of his life shed additional lustre on these endowments and rendered him an object of veneration to all. He was the intimate friend of Father O'Leary, and with him contributed in re-establishing order throughout the country during the period of Whiteboyism. Among the many admirers of Father Callanan, the celebrated Doctor Walinsley (Pastorini) may be particularly noticed. A lengthened and friendly correspondence subsisted between them: that Prelate was anxious that Father Callanan should become his successor, but this dignity the latter declined. By his advice and under the patronage of Doctor Moylan, Miss Nano Nagle commenced the formation of that religious community, since known under the denomination of the "Presentation Order." Father Callanan compiled the rule by which it was to be governed and Doctor Moylan obtained for it the sanction of the Supreme Pontiff. This learned and excellent priest was twice elected Provincial of his order.— After a life spent in the service of religion and adorned with every virtue he died in his convent at Cork on the 29th of January, 1818, and in the 80th year of his age. His remains were interred with great solemnity in the church attached to the convent.

in Cork, that of George's Hill in Dublin must be briefly noticed. By means of Maria Teresa Mullany, a religious lady of that metropolis, the Convent of George's Hill was erected in 1787, and its Community was solemnly established in 1794: in process of time it became justly celebrated, and from it springs, as filiations, the Convents of Drogheda, Mullingar, Rahin, Richmond and Maynooth. The religious and national benefits arising from this sublime order are not circumscribed within the limits of any particular locality; the number of their convents amount to forty-one, while the light of a moral education imparted to no less than eighteen thousand female children, besides adults, diffuses itself, like the beams of the meridian sun, over the whole surface of the kingdom.

The Congregation of the "Sisters of Charity" was founded in Dublin in the year 1815 by Sister Mary Augustin Aikenhead, a native of Cork: the Most Rev. Doctor Murray, under whose paternal auspices it was established, being appointed by the Holy See ecclesiastical superior of the Society in Ireland. These exemplary ladies, bound as they are by perpetual vows, consecrate their lives to the important duties of instructing the children of the poor, protecting young women of good character, visiting females confined in prison and administering spiritual comfort and temporal assistance to the sick poor and dying, in their own dwellings. There are at present in the Archdiocese of Dublin five convents of this religious order, including the Hospital of St. Vincent situated in Stephen's Green;* they have also a convent in

* In this Institution for the sick poor which was opened on the 22nd of April, 1835, accommodations are prepared for the reception of eighty patients, who receive the most unremitting attention from the Sisters of Charity and are provided for in every respect until they recover or pass to a better life. The number of sick poor admitted during the last year (1840) amounted to five hundred and fifty-three.

The Convent of this order in Stanhope-street has attached to it a House of Refuge, where virtuous and unprotected females are sheltered and employed until suitable situations can be obtained for them. In the Penitentiary Asylum at

Cork, one in Sidney (New South Wales) and one in Preston, in England, all belonging to the Irish Congregation and founded by Irish nuns from the parent house in Dublin.

The inestimable value of this order may be ascertained from the fact, that the averaged number of sick poor visited in their dwellings by these ladies amount to upwards of seven hundred annually: moreover the public Hospitals of Jervis-street, of Baggot-street and the Hospital of Incurables in Donnybrook are regularly visited by the members of this institute; and to complete the climax of their invaluable services, the prisons of Newgate, Kilmainham, Grange Gorman-lane and the Victoria Asylum for females discharged from prison are constantly attended by these ladies for the purpose of imparting instruction to the female inmates, while their attendance at the last named institution is specially required by his Grace, Doctor Murray, in consequence of a request to that effect emanating from the governors and directors thereof.

The Order of the "Sisters of Mercy" was established in Dublin, in 1831, by Sister Mary Catherine M'Auley, a benevolent lady residing in that city. Interested for the education of the poor and moved with feelings of compassion at the sufferings of the sick and indigent, a community of pious ladies had been already (in 1827) formed under her guidance. She afterwards made her profession in company with two other religious in the Presentation Convent at George's Hill, and in 1831, under the sanction of the Holy See and by the directions of his Grace, Doctor Murray, they removed to their establishment in Baggot-street, for the purpose of resuming the all-important duties of their institute. Gratuitous education, the protection of young females of good character, and the visitation and relief of the sick poor constitute the noble objects to which the time and attention of

Donnybrook, there are at present forty-five penitents: and in the Poor Schools of Upper Gardiner-street, Sandymount and King's Inn-street, attended by these charitable ladies, one thousand children receive the blessings of a religious education.

these truly meritorious ladies bound by perpetual vows are devoted. Besides the countless number of sick poor visited and relieved in their own dwellings, these religious attend regularly at Mercer's Hospital, Sir Patrick Dunn's Hospital and St. Mary's Asylum, Drumcondra. In many other parts of Ireland their invaluable services have become the subject of universal admiration. They have Convents in Tullamore, Charleville, Carlow, Cork, Limerick, Naas, Galway, Wexford and Birr, besides those of Booterstown, Kingstown and one in London, all subject to the Ordinary of each respective diocese.* There are also at present in Baggot-street seven novices for establishments to be immediately formed, one in Birmingham and the other in Newfoundland.

The tender solicitude evinced by these religious Sisters of Charity and of Mercy in administering to the wants of the sick poor must entitle them to the gratitude of every friend of humanity; their unceasing and fearless attention during the late awful visitation of cholera can never be forgotten by the citizens of Dublin. Divested altogether of self-will and guided by a spirit of holy obedience, these ladies with Christian heroism approached the abode of pestilence, they took their station around the bed of death, martyrs-like they braved the contagion, and while friends and relatives fled from this mansion of terror, the endearing Sisters of Charity and of Mercy were there to be found, administering medicinal relief and pouring the balm of consolation on the afflicted heart of the suffering, expiring victim of cholera. With justice, therefore, are these communities considered a national blessing; their numbers are rapidly increasing throughout the kingdom, while their vast utility can never be sufficiently appreciated.

* One hundred and ninety members have embraced this institute since its foundation in 1831. The prisons and hospitals of the different towns above-mentioned are regularly visited by those religious, they impart gratuitous education to upwards of three thousand female children and about sixty destitute females are sheltered and supported in the House of Mercy, in Baggot-street, Dublin.

CHAPTER III.

Religious and Literary Characters of the Nineteenth Century—General Observations.

ARTHUR O'LEARY, a name revered by every lover of civil and religious liberty, was born in the Western part of the County of Cork, in the year 1729. Yielding to the inclination which he felt for the ecclesiastical state he withdrew from his native country and attached himself to a convent of Capuchins at St. Maloes in Britanny, where he made his religious profession and completed his ecclesiastical studies. During the war of 1756, numbers of the British troops, a great portion of whom were Irish Catholics, became prisoners in the hands of the French; Father O'Leary was appointed their chaplain and continued in this capacity until the close of the campaign in 1762. Even at this early period that stern integrity, which marked his character through life and enabled him to forgive wrongs whenever honour and conscience were in question, was not without affording some rare and noble indications. Attempts were made to tamper with the allegiance of the Irish soldiers engaged in the British service, the co-operation of the chaplain was for this purpose solicited, but every effort, even that of the French minister, the Duc de Choiseul, was found unavailable, and although Ireland had been a land of oppression for ages and the chaplain himself was to a certain extent a literary exile, nevertheless duty was preferred to revenge, and the offer of the minister was indignantly rejected.

Father O'Leary returned to his native land in 1771, at which period he contributed his aid towards the erection of a chapel for his order in the South part of the City of Cork.—

Here he continued, through the intercourse of private life as well as by his public instructions, to display many a striking symptom of those extraordinary powers with which nature had endowed him. His name and his talents had been hitherto devoted to the duties of the sanctuary, while in 1775, the publication of a book by Blair, a Scotch physician, brought him out as an author. In this work, entitled "Thoughts on Nature and Religion," Doctor Blair undertook to assail many of the fundamental truths of revelation; it was a task which other infidels of superior claims had been already obliged to abandon, nevertheless this publication was making its way through the community and, as might be expected, the scandal which it occasioned was not confined even within the extent of its circulation. Many refutations of it issued from the press; but the subject having at length been taken up by O'Leary, the sophisms of his opponent at once disappeared before the irresistible brilliancy of his powerful mind.

Some scholastic doubts having about this time arisen out of the formula of the oath of allegiance then proposed to the Catholics afforded their enemies an opportunity of renewing the outcry against their civil and religious principles. To vindicate the merits of both from every intolerant and foul aspersion and to show that the terms of the formula were strictly compatible with the tenets of Catholicity, he published, in 1777, an admirable tract entitled "Loyalty Asserted, or the test oath vindicated, in a letter to a Protestant gentleman." Notwithstanding the peaceable and loyal demeanour of the Irish Catholics during the very critical period of 1779, when the French and Spanish fleets rode in the channel and the kingdom was threatened with an invasion, and although at the same time Father O'Leary's "Address to the Common People," had been read with delight by men of every party, yet the angry spirit of the age was still cherished by political factionists on the one hand and by de-

signing fanatics on the other. Among the latter class stood John Wesley, the notorious inventor of Methodism. As a splendid specimen of his Christian charity and moreover as an evidence of the inspiration of heaven with which he pretended to be favoured, he embarks in a general crusade against liberty of conscience, and among the weapons which he employed misrepresentation, abuse and slander were not the least formidable. He published, in 1780, "A Letter concerning the principles of Roman Catholics; and a defence of the Protestant Association." This production was immediately followed by a reply from the pen of O'Leary, and while by the power of his reasoning he laid the inspired Father of Methodism prostrate at his feet, he removed the mask and by plentiful effusions of native wit served to exhibit him in his proper form to the public.

That the ground-work on which religious toleration rests might be better understood and better secured, he soon after produced his "Essay on Toleration, or Mr. O'Leary's Plea for Liberty of Conscience." This tract elicited universal admiration, it got access into every circle and was read with delight by all men who professed a regard for human happiness. It moreover established the author's character as a writer and a philosopher, and to it is generally attributed his election as a member of that celebrated society known at this period under the denomination of the "Monks of St. Patrick." This association, it is well understood, was composed of the first literary and political characters of the day; men of congenial talents, wit and politics; their object was the happiness of their native land, and the means which they used were the dictates of sound reason circulated through the medium of their own powerful abilities. At the head of this society stood Lord Avonmore, then Mr. Yelverton, Lord Charlemont, Grattan, Flood, Curran, &c.; reason and genius presided at their meetings, while wit and patriotism harmonized to embellish the scene. For an exalted mind like that

which O'Leary possessed this was its proper element; he was favoured with the unsolicited honour of being elected a member, and in return he dedicated to them the collection of his various tracts which were re-published in 1781.

During the year 1782, an epoch memorable in the annals of this country, among the many gallant corps of which the effective force of the volunteers had been composed, the Irish Brigade ranked perhaps the first and most distinguished.—Of this corps Father O'Leary was constituted chaplain; and while as a moralist he inculcated the principles of fidelity, as a patriot he inspired these heroes with a love for rational freedom and an ardent wish for the regeneration of their native land. To the invaluable exertions of this wise and good man Ireland was deeply indebted during the lamentable turbulence of Whiteboyism. At that period he published three "Addresses to the Common People," which were far more instrumental in restoring tranquillity to the nation than all the terrors of the law; he accompanied the magistrates through several districts of the country, admonished the people, prevailed on them to make a sacrifice of their feelings, and continued his labours until order and harmony were once more established amongst them. Notwithstanding these services he became, as well as the rest of his Catholic countrymen, a favourite subject with some of the malignant bigots of the day. That odious spirit of intolerance, which for ages had entailed such misery on mankind, was not yet banished from the land, it had even at this time its interested votaries, while the means which they employed in imposing on society were as scandalous in themselves as they were degrading to the character of an enlightened nation: whenever the bigot wanted to advance his own interest by raising an outcry against his unoffending fellow subjects, the pulpit and the press were sure to be brought into requisition. An effusion from the pen of Doctor Duignan appeared in 1786, under the signature of *Theophilus*; besides the vulgar abuse

with which it teemed, it contained some gross calumnies on the motives, views and character of Father O'Leary. This production would have remained unnoticed, had not its spirit been imbibed and its principles adopted by the then Protestant Bishop of Cloyne, Doctor Woodward, in a pamphlet entitled "Present state of the Church of Ireland." On this occasion Father O'Leary published "A Defence of his own conduct and writings, together with a justification of the Irish Catholics and an account of the risings of the White-boys." His powerful reasoning impelled by the vein of natural good humour which pervaded the entire composition overthrew the Bishop, and left him exposed to the mixed pity and amusement of the public.

With a view of co-operating still more effectually in the great cause of religious toleration he repaired in 1789 to London and became one of the chaplains to the Spanish embassy. About this time also and through his exertions the Catholic Chapel of St. Patrick was founded in that metropolis. Although earnestly solicited to support the measures of Government by his writings, he with equal firmness declined; in consideration, however, of his past services and without any condition whatever, he at length became entitled to a pension of two hundred pounds per annum. This pension, it appears, was after a few years withheld; by means of Mr. Francis Plowden he recovered the arrears, with which he purchased an annuity for life, but died before the expiration of the first quarter. The death of this justly eminent man occurred in London on the 8th of January, 1802 and in the 73rd year of his age. His remains were interred in the churchyard of St. Pancras, where a monument was erected to his memory by Earl Moira. A similar tribute perpetuates the recollection of his name and virtues in the Chapel of St. Patrick, London.

WILLIAM GAHAN, to whose religious and literary labours the Church of Ireland is greatly indebted, was born in the

Parish of St. Nicholas, in the City of Dublin, on the 5th of June, 1730. The attachment which in early youth he had formed for the ecclesiastical state being now abundantly matured, in the 17th year of his age he made his solemn profession among the members of the order of St. Augustin and immediately after proceeded to Louvain, for the purpose of prosecuting his ecclesiastical studies. In this celebrated retreat of literature the genius of Gahan found ample means for developing its resources: he continued attached to its university for eleven years and having graduated a doctor in divinity he returned to his native country on the 23rd of September, 1761. The state of Ireland at this period afforded a prospect calculated to awaken the hopes and exertions of the people: the dawn of religious liberty began to appear, while those places of Catholic worship, so long subjected to the intolerance of the times, were now permitted to remain undisturbed and were frequented with safety. In the metropolis, however, the supply of the parochial clergy was extremely limited, a circumstance which induced Doctor Gahan to accede to the wishes of his Archbishop, the Most Rev. John Linegar, and undertake the arduous duties of a curate in the Parish of St. Paul, in the City of Dublin.— After a period of three years spent in the discharge of these duties, he retired to the convent of his order in St. John's-street, Dublin, where he commenced a new career of labours and completed those inimitable works which remain to this day as so many memorials of his talents and piety. That which gave real efficacy to the preaching of Doctor Gahan, and in which the merits of his excellent discourses may be said principally to consist, was their universal practicability—their adaptation to every state of life; to which must be added, his own disinterested and truly apostolic example.— The great characteristic virtues of the Gospel—those of humility, of mortification and of brotherly love, were all nobly exemplified in his own private and public character;

he sought for the salvation of his hearers and not for their empty applause, and his discourses were distinguished rather for unction and solidity, than for any studied ostentatiousness of sentiment or frivolous display of words.

Between the laborious duties of an active ministry and the composition of various useful publications, a considerable portion of Doctor Gahan's life had been assiduously devoted. He undertook, in 1786, a tour through England, France and Italy, but the writings descriptive of this journey, although replete with much valuable information, have never been published. It was at this period also that he became acquainted with Doctor John Butler (Lord Dunboyne), Bishop of Cork. This Prelate entertained a high respect for the virtues and learning of Doctor Gahan; an intimate and frequent correspondence took place between them and served in after times to strengthen those compassionate feelings which he entertained towards that Prelate in his unfortunate downfall. For the purpose of gaining possession of his family estate, Doctor Butler renounced the religion of his forefathers in the parish Church of Clonmel, on the 19th of August, 1787. Faith, as well as humility and other virtues, depends not on the strength of man; these are gifts from God—they may be lost and actually have been lost by some of the first and greatest of men. Lord Dunboyne apparently persevered in his wretched course until he had at length, in May, 1800, found himself placed on the bed of death. During the course of that month, Doctor Troy received two letters from Lord Dunboyne through the medium of his attending physician, Doctor Purcell, in one of which was enclosed a letter to the Pope, expressive of contrition for the act which he had committed and requesting to be received into the bosom of the Catholic Church. This enclosure Doctor Troy accordingly forwarded to Rome, but finding that Lord Dunboyne's illness could admit of no delay he directed Doctor Gahan to proceed to Dunboyne Castle

and comply with the wishes of the dying prelate. It was during this illness also that Lord Dunboyne thought proper to bequeath his estate in the County of Meath to the trustees of the College of Maynooth, leaving in the mean time another estate which he possessed in the County of Tipperary to his sister and heir at law, Catherine O'Brien Butler.* This will became soon after the source of some important law proceedings in which Doctor Gahan was involved; but the troubles, and it may be said, the persecution, to which he was subjected, were carried to a degree of severity altogether unbecoming the circumstances of the case and the advanced state of life to which this venerable man had then arrived.—The object of this litigation was, to prove that Lord Dunboyne had died a member of the Catholic Church and thereby to invalidate the will. After Doctor Gahan had undergone six painful examinations in the Chancery Office, Dublin, the case was referred to the Assizes at Trim, for a final decision. During the course of the trial, Doctor Troy deposed that he had, on the receipt of Lord Dunboyne's letter, employed every means in his power to dissuade him from alienating any portion of his estates from his family, but that on finding

* This bequest of Lord Dunboyne amounted to £1000 per annum; Lady Dunboyne, however, having contested the legacy, the trustees, in virtue of an act of Parliament made specifically for the occasion, entered into a compromise with her for one-half that sum; which annual income is now the permanent property of the college. In 1813, through the influence of Vesey Fitzgerald, then Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer and Member for the County of Clare, a sum of £700 per annum was obtained as an addition to the original grant of the college. This sum together with the Dunboyne annuity is made applicable to the maintenance of an institution the most interesting and invaluable; and generally known under the denomination of the "Dunboyne Establishment." It consists of twenty members selected from among the most distinguished students, and who have completed the ordinary course of studies in the college; while their time is devoted to the study of an extended course of theology, ecclesiastical history, canon law, the Hebrew language and the composition of dissertations on important ecclesiastical subjects.—This establishment, from which the Church of Ireland and the social prosperity of the nation must derive incalculable benefit, is at present placed under the superintendence of that excellent and learned ecclesiastic, the Very Rev. Doctor Mac Nally.

his remonstrance ineffectual, he told him that some small gift, as a token of gratitude, would answer the purpose as well and would be acceptable. A woman, who had been in the service of Lord Dunboyne and who professed the Catholic religion, was also produced as a witness on the occasion. The evidence of this witness was such that no person in any manner acquainted with the Catholic faith could credit her testimony: she swore, that Doctor Gahan had at several times visited her master, and that on one occasion, after the Doctor had departed, she entered the chamber of Lord Dunboyne, where she found a candle lighting and a small silver box placed on the table; that she opened the box and saw therein the blessed sacrament; that Lord Dunboyne, observing what she had done, desired her to bring him the box and that he immediately after placed it under his pillow. This fiction, ill-constructed as it was, gained nevertheless an hearing from the court, and was credited by many of the jury.—The religious and manly deportment of Doctor Gahan on this trial is of itself sufficient to furnish the reader with an exemplification of his character. He was asked various questions to which he gave an explicit reply, but when Counsellor O'Grady required to know whether Lord Dunboyne had in his last illness acknowledged to Doctor Gahan "what religion he professed—whether he was a Catholic or a Protestant," Doctor Gahan replied, "that, abstracting from his clerical situation, he knew not; that he felt himself unable conscientiously to answer the question." This refusal elicited from Lord Kilwarden, who presided at the trial, an opinion that Doctor Gahan was guilty of a contempt of court; he accordingly sentenced the Doctor to a week's confinement in the gaol of Trim. To this sentence the venerable Gahan submitted with Christian complacency, at the same time assuring his Lordship, "that like Eleazer of old, he would sooner lay his head on a block and forfeit his life, than reveal the secrets which had been disclosed to him in the ministerial

discharge of his duty." Immediately after the committal of Doctor Gahan, the jury, on a separate issue, returned a verdict that Lord Dunboyne had died a Catholic. The return of this verdict was accompanied by a decision from the court, that as the case of the plaintiff did not suffer from Doctor Gahan's refusal to answer the question proposed, and as it was evident he had acted from principle, the law should on that account be mitigated; he was accordingly ordered to be discharged. The remaining portion of Doctor Gahan's days was devoted to the unabated discharge of his duties.— After an invaluable ministry, comprising a period of 54 years, he died in his native convent on the 6th of December, 1804, and in the 74th year of his age. This learned ecclesiastic has written, 1. Sermons on various subjects. 2. An History of the Christian Church. 3. A short and plain exposition of the Catechism. 4. The Christian's Guide to Heaven.— 5. Catholic Devotion. 6. A short and easy Method to discern the True Religion from all the Sects which undeservedly assume that name. 7. Youth Instructed in the grounds of the True Religion. 8. The Devout Communicant. 9. A translation of the "Spiritual Retreat," from the French by Bourdaloue. 10. An Abridgement of the "History of the Old and New Testament."

EDWARD FERRIS, the recollection of whose virtues may be associated with the brightest epoch of Maynooth College, was born in the County of Kerry about the year 1738. The prospects at this time held out in Ireland to genius and enterprise were most discouraging; he accordingly resolved to withdraw from his native land and went to France, already celebrated as the liberal asylum for expatriated Irishmen.— Filled with the ardour of youth, his inclination first prompted him to engage in a military life, but Providence disposed more favourably: having formed an acquaintance with some members of that invaluable Society, designated the "Priests of the Mission," he attached himself to their community and

after a time was advanced to the priesthood. Talents of the first order and a spirit of industry which no difficulties could relax naturally contributed in establishing his literary fame: he became Vicar General of the Society, was held in the highest respect at the French Court, and for sanctity as well as learning was exceedingly venerated throughout Paris.—His labours in arresting the progress of infidelity at the period of the Revolution exposed him to the tempest by which the throne and the altar were then equally assailed; he took refuge in Italy and was received at the Court of Rome with marks of great kindness by his Holiness, Pius VI.—Italy in turn became the theatre of war—the sanctuary was invaded—her ministers were dispersed—the Pontiff himself became a captive. Meanwhile Doctor Ferris directed his route towards the North of Europe; he traversed the greater part of Switzerland where he devoted some years to his missionary duties and having encountered a variety of dangers he at length proceeded to Vienna.

A period of forty-five years had now elapsed since this learned ecclesiastic first departed from the shores of his native country; he returned to Ireland in 1800 and immediately after was appointed Dean of Maynooth College.—That rising establishment presented at the time an unrivalled combination of worth and talent: the learned Flood was its President; Ahern, Dolore, La Hogue and Clinch were among the distinguished teachers to whose care the future hopes of the Irish mission had been intrusted. It was at this bright epoch that the important duties of Dean devolved on the learned and saintly Ferris. Those who had the happiness of being placed under his superintendence, (and many of them are still living,) of being directed by his counsel—enlightened by his wisdom—encouraged by his example will recollect with feelings of grateful love the many endearing qualities that adorned the character of this wisest and best of superiors. The humility, which inclined him to conceal

the vast resources of his mind, served but to reflect additional lustre on his other virtues; Maynooth at that time appeared as it were filled with his praise, and even at this day his name is handed down by those who knew him with an almost sacred veneration. On the death of Ahern, Doctor Ferris was prevailed upon to accept the vacant chair of moral theology, and was succeeded in the office of Dean by Doctor Coen, the present truly pious and venerable Bishop of Clonfert.— Doctor Ferris continued to teach moral theology with singular applause until 1809, in which year he died and was interred in the cemetery of Lara Brian, near Maynooth.

THOMAS BETAGH was born in the town of Kells and County of Meath in the year 1738. The ancient and distinguished family from which he was descended may be numbered among the first of those that had been marked out for ruin during the era of proscription under the usurper Cromwell; his parents, nevertheless, enjoyed a respectable independence and placed their son, at a very early age, under the care of the Rev. John Austin, an eminent Father of the Society of Jesus, who at that time conducted a literary establishment in the metropolis. Filled with an ardent desire of attaching himself to that celebrated Society, he repaired in the 16th year of his age to France, where after the usual probation of two years he entered on his course of ecclesiastical studies. Being now committed to the superintendence of men justly eulogized in the history of religion and of literature as the patrons of merit, the talents with which he had been so highly gifted found ample scope for their development. He completed his studies with brilliant success and immediately after was appointed to teach in the public schools attached to the college of the Society at Pont-a-Mousson, in the province of Champagne. About the year 1762 he returned to his native country. The state of education among the Catholic community of every rank was, at this period, truly deplorable. Hitherto this first and greatest

source of national happiness had been closed against them by the strong arm of the law; periods of toleration or of magisterial connivance might occasionally intervene; such indulgence, however, was precarious and transitory; the gleam of sunshine was allowed to appear and open a cheering prospect to the people, but the cloud immediately followed and all their hopes were lost in the darkness of the storm. The accession of George III to the throne, in 1760, inspired the Catholics with renewed vigour, and education became the leading object of their solicitude. It was about this period that Doctor Betagh, having now returned to Ireland, resolved to devote his time and talents to the same national object; he became a co-operator with Father Austin in the school which that invaluable ecclesiastic had long since established and continued the same useful labours, in conjunction with the learned Father Mulcaille, for several years. While engaged in this most laudable employment he received his degree of professed Father from Fr. Laurence Ricci, the last General of the Society, and made his solemn profession in the hands of Fr. John Ward, the last Superior of the Irish mission. The suppression of this distinguished Society, to which the inhabitants of both hemispheres stand so deeply indebted, occurred in 1773, at which time Doctor Betagh was attached to Rosemary-lane Chapel, as assistant to the Rev. M. Field, then parish priest of SS. Michael's and John's. This venerable pastor, by reason of age and infirmity, had been for some years incapable of supporting these weighty obligations, during which time Doctor Betagh was appointed Administrator and afterwards succeeded Father Field in the government of the parish. The improvement of the poor through the medium of gratuitous education and the removal of deep-rooted misrepresentations by a fair statement and open defence of Catholic truths formed the leading features of his apostolical zeal: he opened an evening free school, which was commenced in School-house-

lane and was after some years removed to Skinner-row; where three hundred boys of the humbler classes received suitable instruction, and where he himself was to be seen placed in the midst of them as regularly as the returning evening. In this school more than three thousand children and adults received the blessings of a moral education, while their benevolent pastor was accustomed to clothe at least forty of the most destitute among them annually, out of his own limited resources. It was, however, in the discharge of his public ministerial duties and particularly in his controversial discourses that the talent and zeal of this great man shone resplendant. The beautiful simplicity of his language combined with his peculiarly methodical arrangement and powerful strength of argument rendered the cause of truth in his hands invincible; as a moralist he took full possession of the hearts of his hearers; as a controvertist and the champion of Catholicity he stood in the field without a rival. The usual points which he selected as the subjects of these controversial discourses were the Articles of the Apostles Creed: he first proposed the doctrine which according to the Article a Catholic was bound to believe; he then established the truth of this doctrine in a strain of perspicuous and irresistible reasoning, and in conclusion he stated the objections which had been raised against it and satisfactorily refuted them. The zeal which burned within him was not to be circumscribed, it extended even to the future necessities of the sanctuary: several young men distinguished for transcendent talents, piety and a vocation for the ecclesiastical state found in him a director and a patron; through his encouragement they prepared themselves for the sacred ministry and many of them continue to this day among the first and most brilliant ornaments of the Church of Ireland. After a most successful mission of upwards of forty years, Doctor Betagh died on the 16th of February, 1811. On the announcement of his death the metropolis was turned into one general scene of

mourning, and at this day his name and his virtues remain embalmed in the recollections of a grateful people.

JOHN LANIGAN, the learned author of the "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," was born in the City of Cashel in the year 1758. Having attained the 18th year of his age he repaired to Rome and entered the Irish College where he commenced his course of ecclesiastical studies along with several young Irishmen among whom Doctor Florence Mac Carthy (afterwards Coadjutor Bishop of Cork), and Doctor M'Cann, of the County of Louth, stood pre-eminently distinguished. His transcendant talents assisted by unwearied application soon raised him to an eminent rank; he took out his degree of doctor of divinity, and among the number of his admirers may be noticed that patron of literature, Cardinal Marefoschi, at one period Cardinal Protector of the Church of Ireland. Through his advice and patronage Doctor Lanigan removed to Pavia, where he was appointed professor of Scripture, Hebrew and ecclesiastical history, in the Hanoverian College of the ancient and celebrated University in that city. Several of the Hanoverian and Austrian nobility and even princes received their education under this distinguished Irishman; his extensive acquirements ranked him among the first characters of the University: the learned Tamburini, by whom it was then administered, was accustomed to designate him the pillar and brightest ornament of the establishment. On one occasion the Emperor, Joseph II, having visited the University of Pavia, was pleased to honour Doctor Lanigan's lectures by his presence; the Doctor delivered a latin oration which was received with unbounded applause, the Emperor at the same time observing, "that so young and so enlightened a professor reflected new lustre on the Irish nation, and reminded him of the ancient literary glory of that people."

The attachment which he now formed for the University served to confirm a resolution, which he had already contem-

plated, of spending the remainder of his days within its walls; circumstances, however, soon obliged him to adopt a different course. On the invasion of Lombardy by Napoleon, the French troops entered Pavia in 1796; the professors and students became dispersed and the University was broken up; yet it is but fair to observe that Buonaparte issued a manifesto to the municipalities of Pavia, ordering them to recall the professors, to invite the students to resume their studies and to assure all, that even amid the din of war this sacred abode of literature and retirement should remain secure and unmolested. Doctor Lanigan, however, returned to Ireland, and having reached Dublin he attached himself to Francis-street Chapel through the invitation and encouragement of the Very Rev. Doctor Hamill, with whom he had been previously acquainted in the Irish College at Rome. Here he continued for some time, but finding it more convenient to reside with his intimate friend, the Rev. F. Corcoran of Church-street, he generally officiated in the conventual chapel of which that amiable clergyman happened to be superior. About this time Doctor Lanigan was invited to accept of a professor's chair in Maynooth College: his nomination was proposed by the Most Rev. Doctor O'Reilly and was seconded by the Most Rev. Doctor Troy. Doctor Moylan, however, who happened during these proceedings to be absent, on entering the Board Room and being made acquainted with the matter, suggested that the anti-jansenistical formula drawn up and already signed by the French clergy should be previously submitted to Doctor Lanigan and receive his signature. To this the Doctor objected; observing at the same time, that he would most willingly subscribe to the Bull *Unigenitus*, emanating as it did from the Head of the Church; but that he would never consent to bind himself down to the dictation or formula of any *foreign national Church whatever*. The motion of the Right Rev. Prelate was, however, overruled, yet the Doctor thought proper to decline the appointment. Doctor Lanigan's

literary reputation having been long since fully established, in 1799, he was unanimously elected by the members of the Dublin Society as their translator, editor and corrector of the press, and in 1808, he became also their librarian; a situation which his extensive acquaintance with the languages and his immense information enabled him to fill in a manner most honourable to himself and to that establishment. On this occasion the Earl of Donoughmore and several of the Irish nobility became his patrons: General Charles Vallancey, Richard Kirwan and other literary characters bore honourable testimony to his exalted merits. While in the discharge of the duties of this office and about the year 1813, he commenced the arrangement of the materials which he had already prepared for his noble and immortal work, the "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland." These he revised, purged and augmented with a variety of scarce and valuable matter gleaned from the public and private libraries of his own country, and having completed the whole with diligence and, it may be added, with tremendous labour, in 1822: he published the work in four octavo volumes. There has not perhaps been ever written in any nation or in any language a work more distinguished for accuracy, impartiality and sound criticism than this inimitable production; the precision with which he balances the several statements of our national records prove him to be an antiquarian of the first order, while the immense mass of authority to which he refers may enable us to form some idea of the Herculean task which this great man had to encounter. By means of this immortal work he has rescued from oblivion as well as from obloquy the genuine records of his native land; he has placed the ecclesiastical antiquities of Ireland on a solid and an imperishable basis. Some critics may perhaps be dissatisfied with the manner of his arrangement, but when it is recollected that he handles each subject agreeably to a certain chronological order peculiar to anti-

quarians, and that he attends to facts—to truth and to nothing else, this apparent deficiency may be readily overlooked.

Doctor Lanigan continued to discharge the duties of librarian for the Dublin Society until the year 1814, when on account of the state of his health he resigned; still retaining his former situation of translator and corrector of the press on a salary of one hundred guineas per annum. In consequence of the orderly condition in which the library was kept and his other services he was presented on two or three occasions with a gift of one hundred guineas: it appears, however, that at one time a reduction of his salary was contemplated, but the proposition was almost universally negatived; even John Giffard with all his prejudices exerted his influence in favour of the librarian's interest. At the close of his life he retired to Finglass on his annual salary of one hundred guineas allowed him by the Dublin Society, as a token of the admiration in which they held his worth and talents. He was the author of the inimitable preface to the "Protestant Apology," he has also written the preface to an edition of the Roman Breviary, likewise in one volume a Prologomena to Commentaries on the sacred Scriptures, which he intended to have continued, but the infirmities of old age prevented him. He died on the 7th of July, 1828, and was interred in the Churchyard of Finglass.

WILLIAM COPPINGER, descended from an ancient and highly respectable Catholic family, was born in the year 1753, in the Parish of St. Finbar in the City of Cork.—The laws which debarred the Catholic youth of Ireland from the advantages of a liberal education being even up to this period enforced, he was in consequence obliged to adopt the example of many of his countrymen and retire to the Continent in quest of that literature which he had every right to expect and to receive in the land of his birth. He repaired to France where he obtained an education suited to his rank;

while the encouraging access to honour and distinction which the French service now so liberally presented and an inherent spirit of noble emulation inclined him at first to embrace the military profession. To think of satisfying the bias of his mind by any such prospects in his own country would be worse than visionary; the ranks of the British army being then closed against the advancement of Catholics, no matter how high their descent or how transcendent their talents.—This determination, however, was afterwards, through the suggestion of some friends, entirely abandoned; it yielded to a more useful and a more exalted calling, and at length he resolved to relinquish honours empty and transitory and to consecrate the remainder of his days to the duties of the ecclesiastical state. He accordingly entered the Irish College in Paris where the strong powers of mind with which he was gifted were soon and brilliantly displayed, and having completed his studies he returned about the year 1780 to his native city. The missionary career of this invaluable ecclesiastic was commenced in his own native parish, that of St. Finbar, to which he was appointed curate: he was soon after advanced to the Parish of Passage and became Vicar General of the diocese.

About this time the melancholy defection of Lord Dunboyne occasioned, as may be expected, an unusual degree of scandal; in Passage the affliction was severely felt but the unremitting zeal and charity of its good pastor supplied the people with paramount consolation. At this period also the aged and venerable Doctor Mac Kenna, Bishop of Cloyne, found it necessary to apply to Rome for the appointment of a coadjutor; through the recommendation of that Prelate, supported by Doctor Moylan, Bishop of Cork, William Coppinger was the person selected: he was accordingly consecrated in the year 1788, and entered immediately on the discharge of those high functions which the religious and political state of the times had now invested with awful re-

sponsibility. Among other singular opinions, springing out of the prejudice of this age, that of Lord Redesdale at the close of the eighteenth century is not the least notorious.—His Lordship undertook to maintain that the existence of the Catholic clergy in Ireland was not recognized by law: this assertion was instantly taken up by Doctor Coppinger, while from the very statutes passed during the registration era of Queen Anne, he overthrew the Chancellor and left him exposed to the humour and sarcasms of Curran and other legal contemporaries. Neither the piety or exalted station of this Prelate was sufficient to protect him from the shafts of a malignant faction; the Corporation of Youghal, like the rest of their brotherhood throughout Ireland, had been deeply tinged with those party prejudices which at length created such general disgust in the public mind that their extinction by law appeared in the eyes of every honest man as a blessing to the nation. Selfish and intolerant as they had been at all times, during the distractions of 1798 they became furious; to avoid the consequences of their resentment this peaceable and inoffensive Prelate was obliged to withdraw from that town. His apostolical zeal and exertions in the government of his diocese cannot but be gratefully remembered by his clergy and people: in him the hated measure of a Veto found an unceasing and a powerful opponent. In the national Synod of 1808, when these arrangements were solemnly rejected, the resolution passed on that occasion originated principally from Doctor Coppinger; while by his means, in 1816, the transaction was altogether placed under the cognizance of the Propaganda,* and Vetoism without the hope of a resurrection was soon after consigned to its political grave.—The effects of Doctor Coppinger's literary labours, which continued until the period of his death (1830), being well known, stand not in need of eulogy: besides his writings

* See Chap. I.

against Horace Townsend, this Prelate has also produced a translation of the *Imitation of Christ*, by Thomas a Kempis, a General Catechism and a life of Miss Nano Nagle: productions which must alike contribute to edify the faithful and hand down the name and virtues of this excellent Prelate to an admiring and grateful posterity.

Having thus conducted the reader through the history of our national Church, comprising a period of upwards of fourteen hundred years, we feel, from the general series of events as well as from the transactions of the last twenty-nine years, sufficiently authorized to repeat the observation already stated in the preface of this work and to re-assert "that the power of an all-ruling Providence has most mercifully as well as visibly interfered in the establishment, progress and final triumph of the ancient, venerable, persecuted Catholic Church of Ireland. Is it necessary to recapitulate the scenes, circumstances and characters of the last three hundred years? or are we called upon to look back on those ages of terror, when the tempest loud and long thickened round the edifice and threatened with destruction even the mighty consecrated rock on which it rested? The posture in which this national Church had been placed during the incursions of the Danes was truly terrific; when the temple and the altar became a scene of desolation and the sanctuary overflowed with the blood of its priesthood; nevertheless this ordeal, appalling as it must appear, is reduced to the level of an ordinary process and sinks almost into insignificance when put in contrast with the tremendous crucible through which this same Church had been afterwards doomed to pass. That the truth of that important proposition already stated may be placed before us supported by still further illustration, let a parallel be drawn between what has occurred in the Church of this country and the events connected with the rise and downfall of other deservedly celebrated national Churches. Carthage at one period was an

illustrious Church; so was Hippo; Alexandria had its Patriarch and Jerusalem enjoyed the same dignity, but these Churches with their celebrity have almost disappeared: the sun of their glory has gone down and at this day they remain like the melancholy remnants of a wreck, with scarcely any thing but tradition to point out the greatness and grandeur of their former glory. Nor can many of the great national Churches of Europe claim an exemption from the same descriptive outline. The ancient Churches of the North of Europe have all vanished from the map: England and Scotland too have lost their hierarchy: even France and other great kingdoms have suffered beneath the shock of revolution and infidelity; while in all these countries heresy and schism, the real, visible scourges of mankind, have more or less made their inroads, upsetting all the long established, venerable and beneficial institutions of these once religious, happy and celebrated nations. Fortunate Ireland! cherished, protected land! in ancient days known to Christendom as an island of saints; in this our day recognized throughout the same Christendom as a nation heroic in their attachment to the faith, invincible in their moral power to preserve it, favoured with a hierarchy pious as it is learned, firm as it is apostolical, and blessed with the possession of a Church which no human power has been able to upset and which now flourishes bright, fair and vigorous, like the never fading green with which the lovely valleys of the country itself are so highly embellished.

Providence, however, in its sublime and mysterious ways, deigns not unfrequently to operate through the medium of ordinary instruments. The inherent, natural reverence of the Irish people for the ancient faith of their country enkindled within them that hallowed and ever burning zeal, which no length of time could consume—which no severity of sufferings could extinguish: it made them look down with pity and scorn on the ephemeral novelties of the day: it enabled them

to smile on death sooner than surrender the venerable creed of their sainted forefathers. Add to this, the tender and powerful ties of unionship which at all times subsisted between the Catholic people of Ireland and their truly meritorious priesthood. This it was which cemented the whole into one irresistible mass: it created a reciprocity of feeling: they partook of each others joys, felt for their mutual afflictions, they were rendered compact, they became one, they became invincible. During those dark and dismal epochs, when the recesses of the mountain were prepared by nature as the grand asylums of shelter for this people, their proscribed priests, like the martyrs of primitive days, were to be seen in the midst of them: they made them the cherished object of their thoughts—they clung to them with the affection of fathers—they never forsook them. The people, in their turn, have gratefully treasured up an indelible, everlasting remembrance of these endearing services; they have them as the darling subject of their private contemplation and of their public eulogy; they are handed down as a sacred legacy from one generation to another, and at this day there is not perhaps under heaven a nation that, in overflowing love and reverential attachment to its priesthood, can adequately compete with the high-minded, persevering, proverbially faithful Catholics of Ireland.

But there is another link the most binding of any, because it is of divine foundation; it is that which connects them all, priests and people, with the great centre of unity, the rock of ages, and without which the whole would have long since ended in a wreck. This is the beacon lit up by infinite Wisdom for the Christian mariner, and by keeping it in constant view those great men who stood at the helm of the Irish Church guided the vessel in triumphant security; they set the billows and the tempest and the terrors that encompassed them at defiance. In unabated fidelity and veneration for the chair of St. Peter the Catholics of Ireland

have never yet been surpassed by any Christian nation on earth, and for their conscientious adherence to it no other nation has ever suffered so much. This it was which forced James I to exclaim "that the very atmosphere of Ireland was infected with popery." It was this which made bigotry outrageous, generated the Penal Code, drew forth the sword of persecution, and at divers periods reduced the noblest country in the world to the frightful condition of a desert.—Nevertheless the same ancient belief continues to flourish triumphant amongst us, and now, in the nineteenth century, Ireland with her millions glories in the appellation of Catholic; her Churches are rising up magnificently and almost without number throughout the land: the glory of ancient times is revived in her seats of literature, and that the last age of this singularly protected Church may in some respects correspond with the days of her primitive glory, she has within the last few years sent forth her numerous missionaries to various nations: to the East and to the West—climates to which the light of Christianity had scarcely ever before penetrated. But that which completes her triumph and to which Irishmen had for too long a time been strangers, is at length returned: the sun of civil and religious liberty has appeared above the horizon: the clouds of bigotry are dispersed: the wall of separation, where craft and self-policy were wont to conceal themselves, is thrown down, and the Catholic Church of Ireland, divested of all overgrown wealth, upheld by a learned and a pious priesthood, and allowed to rest on its own merits, now over-spreads the land in all its lustre, independent—glorious—immortal.

APPENDIX I.

Remonstrance or Declaration of Loyalty proposed by Father Peter Walsh.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.—Your Majesty's faithful subjects the Roman Catholic clergy of your Majesty's kingdom of Ireland do most humbly represent this their present state and deplorable condition.

That being intrusted by the indispensable commission of the King of kings with the cure of souls and the care of their flocks, in order to the administration of sacraments and teaching the people that perfect obedience which for conscience sake they are bound to pay to your Majesty's commands, they are loaden with calumnies and persecuted with severity.

That being obliged, by the allegiance they owe and ought to swear unto your Majesty, to reveal all conspiracies and practices against your person and royal authority that come to their knowledge, they are themselves clamoured against as conspirators plotting the destruction of the English among them, without any ground that may give the least colour to so foul a crime to pass for probable in the judgment of any indifferent person.

That their crimes are made as numerous and as divers as are the inventions of their adversaries; and because they cannot with freedom appear to justify their innocence, all the fictions and allegations against them are received as undoubted verities; and what is yet more mischievous, the laity, upon whose consciences the character of priesthood gives them an influence, suffer under all the crimes thus falsely imputed to them; it being their adversaries principal design, that the Irish, whose estates they enjoy, should be reputed persons unfit and no way worthy of any title to your Majesty's mercy.

That no wood comes amiss to make arrows for their destruction; for, as if the Roman Catholic clergy, whom they esteem most criminal, were or ought to be a society so perfect, as no evil or indiscreet person should be found amongst them, they are all of them generally cried down for any crime whether true or feigned which is imputed to one of them; and as if no words could be spoken, no letter written but with

the common consent of all of them, the whole clergy must suffer for that which is laid to the charge of any particular person among them.

We know what odium all the Catholic clergy lie under by reason of the calumnies with which our tenets in religion and our dependence upon the Pope's authority are aspersed; and we humbly beg your Majesty's pardon, to vindicate both by the ensuing protestation, which we make in the sight of heaven and in the presence of your Majesty, sincerely and truly, without equivocation or mental reservation.

We do acknowledge and confess your Majesty to be our true and lawful King, supreme Lord and rightful Sovereign of this realm of Ireland and of all other your Majesty's dominions. And therefore we acknowledge and confess ourselves to be obliged under pain of sin to obey your Majesty in all civil and temporal affairs, as much as any other of your Majesty's subjects, and as the laws and rules of Government in this kingdom do require at our hands. And that, notwithstanding any power or pretension of the Pope or See of Rome, or any sentence or declaration of what kind or quality soever given or to be given by the Pope, his predecessors, or successors, or by any authority spiritual or temporal proceeding or derived from him or his see, against your Majesty or royal authority, we will still acknowledge and perform to the uttermost of our abilities our faithful loyalty and true allegiance to your Majesty. And we openly disclaim and renounce all foreign power, be it either papal or princely, spiritual or temporal, inasmuch as it may seem able or shall pretend to free, discharge or absolve us from this obligation, or shall any way give us leave or licence to raise tumults, bear arms, or offer any violence to your Majesty's person, royal authority, or to the State or Government. Being all of us ready not only to discover and make known to your Majesty and to your ministers all the treasons made against your Majesty or them, which shall come to our hearing; but also to lose our lives in the defence of your Majesty's person and royal authority; and to resist with our best endeavours all conspiracies and attempts against your Majesty, be they framed or sent under what pretence or patronized by what foreign power or authority soever. And further, we profess, that all absolute princes and supreme governors, of what religion soever they be, are God's lieutenants on earth, and that obedience is due to them according to the laws of each commonwealth respectively in all civil and temporal affairs. And therefore we do here protest against all doctrine and authority to the contrary.

And we do hold it impious and against the word of God to maintain that any private subject may kill or murder the anointed of God, his

prince, though of a different belief and religion from his. And we abhor and detest the practice thereof as damnable and wicked.

These being the tenets of our religion, in point of loyalty and submission to your Majesty's commands and our dependence of the See of Rome no way intrenching upon that perfect obedience which, by our birth and by all laws divine and human, we are bound to pay to your Majesty, our natural and lawful Sovereign; we humbly beg, prostrate at your Majesty's feet, that you would be pleased to protect us from the severe persecution we suffer merely for our profession in religion; leaving those that are or hereafter shall be guilty of other crimes (and there have been such in all times, as well by their writings as by their actions,) to the punishment prescribed by the law.

APPENDIX II.

Remonstrance or Declaration of Loyalty signed by the National Congregation of the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland in 1666.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.—We, your Majesty's subjects, the Roman Catholic clergy of the kingdom of Ireland together assembled, do hereby declare and solemnly protest before God and his holy angels, that we own and acknowledge your Majesty to be our true and lawful King, supreme Lord and undoubted Sovereign, as well of this realm of Ireland as of all other your Majesty's dominions; consequently we confess ourselves bound in conscience to be obedient to your Majesty in all civil and temporal affairs, as any subject ought to be to his prince, and as the laws of God and nature require at our hands. Therefore we promise, that we will inviolably bear true allegiance to your Majesty, your lawful heirs and successors; and that no power on earth shall be able to withdraw us from our duty herein; and that we will even to the loss of our blood, if occasion requires, assert your Majesty's rights against any that shall invade the same, or attempt to deprive yourself, or your lawful heirs and successors of any part thereof. And to the end, this our sincere protestation may more clearly appear, we further declare, that it is not our doctrine that subjects may be discharged, absolved, or freed from the obligation of performing their duty of true obedience and allegiance to their prince; much less may we allow of or pass as tolerable any doctrine that perniciously and against the word of God maintains, *that any private subject may lawfully kill or murder the anointed of God, his prince.*—Wherefore, pursuant to the deep apprehension we have of the abomination and sad consequences of its practice, we do engage ourselves to discover unto your Majesty or some of your ministers any attempt of that kind, rebellion or conspiracy against your Majesty's person, crown or royal authority, that comes to our knowledge, whereby such horrid evils may be prevented. Finally, as we hold the premises to be agreeable to good conscience, so we religiously swear the due observance thereof to our utmost, and we will preach and teach the same to our respective flocks.* In witness whereof we do hereunto subscribe, this 15th day of June, 1666.

* To this was appended the three Sorbonne Declarations.—See Cent. xvii. chap. i.

APPENDIX III.

Rescript of Monsgr. J. B. Quarantotti, addressed to the Right Rev. William Poynter.

TRANSLATION.

Most Illustrious and Right Reverend Lord.—We have learned with heartfelt delight, that the law, proposed last year for the relief of the Catholics of the British empire and rejected by a small majority of votes, is likely to be brought forward in the Sessions of the present year. Would to heaven that this so desirable a law might be at length passed; and that the Catholics, who have always given the noblest proofs of their loyalty and fidelity, may finally be relieved from the heavy yoke which has so long oppressed them; so that under a just equality of honours and privileges, they may apply themselves with alacrity to the discharge of those duties which religion and the good of their country equally demand—a result of which the pleasing hope may be indulged from the goodness of a most beneficent Monarch and the wisdom of a renowned empire, which by its equity, prudence and other virtues has, as well in all times past, as more especially in the present, acquired so much glory in the eyes of surrounding nations. And as it has been submitted to us that certain questions and differences of opinion have arisen among the bishops, touching the condition on which the Catholics were to be put on a footing with other subjects: we, who during the absence of the Chief Pontiff, are charged with the care of the sacred missions, and have been furnished with all Pontifical powers for that purpose, have thought it a duty attached to our functions to clear up all ambiguities, and remove every difficulty that might impede an agreement so desirable, and, on those points to which the episcopal power might not extend, to supply its deficiencies by the authority and consent of the Holy See.

Having, therefore, convened a council of the most learned dignitaries and divines, the letter of your Lordship and that of the Archbishop of Dublin being first read and the matter being then maturely deliberated upon in a particular meeting, it has been decreed, *that the Catholics may, with willingness and gratitude, receive and accept of the law which was proposed for their emancipation last year*, according to the form which has been submitted by your Lordship.

One point there is which requires some explanation, namely, the

second part of the oath, by which the clergy are bound to hold no communion with the Pope or his Court, which may directly or indirectly tend to subvert or in any manner disturb the established religion of the State. It is universally known, that by divine obligation the principal duty of the ministers of the Church is, to propagate the Catholic Faith as the only guide to eternal happiness, and to combat all errors contradictory to it. This is proved equally by the precepts of the Gospel and by the examples of the apostles and their successors. Now, if a Catholic should recall to the orthodox faith a Protestant individual, he may be supposed to have incurred the guilt of perjury, inasmuch as, by withdrawing that individual from the Protestant Church, he may be considered as having weakened it in a certain degree. If the matter be thus understood, the oath cannot be lawfully taken, being inconsistent with Catholic principle; but if the meaning of the legislators is, that the ministers of the Catholic Church are not forbidden to make use of preaching, persuasion and advice, and are only prohibited from employing force or fraud for the disturbance of the Protestant Church and Establishment; that is sound doctrine and agrees perfectly with our principles. It will be your part, therefore, with all zeal and humility to implore Government, for the purpose of tranquillizing and keeping unhurt the consciences of the clergy, to put forth some modification or explanation of any oath of that kind that may be proposed to be taken, which removing all ambiguity may allow full permission for peaceful preaching and persuasion. And should the proposed law be already passed in the same words, or should the Government decline to make any change therein, let the clergy acquiesce, and it shall be enough that they openly declare, that they swear in such sense only as, that the orthodox faith shall remain inviolate by their oath, and not otherwise. And in order that their said declaration may become known to all, and even serve as an example to posterity, it shall be preserved in the proper archives. It would be desirable also, if it could be effected, that a declaration should be obtained from some members of the British Parliament, that the Government imposes the oath on the Catholic clergy in this exact sense and no other. As to the other points which, according to your letter, are contained in the proposed law, they are matter of charitable indulgence, and as such acceded to by the Holy See.

As to the desire of the Government to be informed of the loyalty of those who are promoted to the dignity of bishop or dean, and to be assured that they possess those qualifications which belong to a faithful subject: as to the intention also of forming a Board for the ascertain-

ment of those points, by inquiring into the characters of those who shall be presented and reporting thereon to the King, according to the tenor of your Lordships letter: and, finally, as to the determination of Government to have none admitted to those dignities, who either are not natural born subjects, or who have not been residents in the kingdom for four years preceding: as all these provisions regard matters that are merely political, they are entitled to all indulgence. It is better indeed, that the prelates of our Church should be acceptable to the King, in order that they may exercise their ministry with his full concurrence, and also that there may be no doubts of their integrity even with those who are not in the bosom of the Church. For "it becometh a bishop (as the Apostle teaches, 1 TIM. XXXVII.) even to have a good witness from those who are not of the Church." Upon these principles, we, in virtue of the authority intrusted to us, grant permission, that those, who are elected to and proposed for bishoprics and deaneries by the clergy, may be admitted or rejected by the King, according to the law proposed. When, therefore, the clergy shall have, according to the usual custom, elected those whom they shall judge most worthy in the Lord to possess those dignities, the Metropolitan of the Province, in Ireland, or the Senior Vicar Apostolic in England and Scotland, shall give notice of the election, that the King's approbation or dissent may be had thereupon. If the candidates be rejected, others shall be proposed, who may be acceptable to the King; but if approved of, the Metropolitan or Vicar Apostolic, as above, shall send the documents to the Sacred Congregation here, the members whereof having duly weighed the merits of each shall take measures for the obtainment of canonical institution from his Holiness. I perceive also, that another duty is assigned to the Board above mentioned, namely, that they are charged to inspect all letters written by the ecclesiastical power to any of the British clergy, and examine carefully whether they contain any thing which may be injurious to the Government, or anywise disturb the public tranquillity. Inasmuch as a communication on ecclesiastical or spiritual affairs with the Head of the Church is not forbidden, and as the inspection of the Board relates to political subjects only, this also must be submitted to. It is right that the Government should not have cause to entertain any suspicion with regard to the communication between us. What we write will bear the eyes of the world, for we intermeddle not with matters of a political nature, but are occupied about those things which the divine and the ecclesiastical law and the good order of the Church appear to require. Those matters only are to be kept under the seal of silence which per-

tain to the jurisdiction of conscience within us; and of this, it appears to me sufficient care has been taken in the clauses of the law alluded to. We are perfectly convinced, that so wise a Government as that of Great Britain, while it studies to provide for the public security, does not on that account wish to compel the Catholics to desert their religion, but would rather be pleased that they should be careful observers of it. For our holy and truly divine religion is most favourable to public authority, is the best support of thrones and the most powerful teacher both of loyalty and patriotism. There is nothing, therefore, in the nature of things, more wished for, or more grateful to the Holy See, than that the completest concord and most perfect mutual confidence may be maintained between the British Government and its Catholic subjects, that the governors of the State may have no possible cause to doubt of the loyalty, fidelity and attachment of the Catholics; and that the Catholics may, on their part, discharge the duties they owe their country with all possible alacrity, sincerity and zeal. Wherefore, we exhort all in the Lord, but especially the bishops, that laying aside all contention, for the edification of others, all may with one heart entertain this only wish and sentiment, *that no room shall be given to schism*, nor any injury done to the Catholic cause. But if a law shall be passed, by which the Catholics may be relieved from the penalties to which they are liable, then we desire that all shall not only embrace it with alacrity, in manner as we have already said, but also express the utmost gratitude to his Majesty and his illustrious Parliament, for so great a favour, and prove themselves worthy of it. Finally, we entreat your Lordship to take measures that this letter shall be communicated to all bishops and Vicars Apostolic of the empire, and in the hope that they will promptly and unreservedly conform to the things which, in virtue of the power assigned to us, have been decreed, we pray Almighty God that HE may long preserve your Lordship: and, in the mean time, I declare myself attached to you with all respect,

Your most obedient servant,

J. B. QUARANTOTTI, Vice Prefect.

M. A. GALEASSI, Substitute.

To the Most Illustrious and Right
Rev. WM. POYNTER, Bishop of
Halys, Vicar Apostolic of the
London District, London.

*From the College of the Propaganda,
at Rome, 16th February, 1814.*

APPENDIX IV.

Genoese Letter to the Right Rev. William Poynter.

TRANSLATION.

Most Illustrious and Right Reverend Lord—Your Lordship lately informed me of your intended speedy return to England, earnestly requesting me at the same time, at length to make known to you the sentiments of his Holiness with regard to the conditions to be *acceded to* and *permitted*, in order that the Catholics may obtain the desired Act of Emancipation from Government. His Holiness, therefore, to whose decision, as was my official duty, I had referred the whole subject, being forced by the present unexpected change of the times again to abide far from the city, before the examination thereof, which had long since commenced, could be fully completed, has, in his exceeding prudence, declined to pronounce in a solemn form his judgment on a matter of so great moment. He has, however, deigned to declare to me his sentiments, with regard to the conditions which *alone* (totally rejecting all others whatsoever hitherto proposed,) his beloved children, the Catholics of Great Britain, can with a safe conscience accede to, in case the long-hoped for Act of their Emancipation be passed. For his Holiness trusts, that the august King of Great Britain and the most serene Prince, his son, in their own singular clemency, wisdom and generosity, will most certainly crown with new favours and benefits those already conferred on the Catholics; especially as they have found them always most faithful and prepared, with the divine assistance, to endure the worst dangers, rather than fail in anywise in their duty to their sovereign.

The points, however, that may now come under consideration and which the aforesaid Government, to secure its own and the State's tranquillity and safety, seems to require on the part of its Catholic subjects, are, the oath of allegiance to be taken by them; the mode of appointing bishops to the vacant sees; and the revision of all rescripts, breves and constitutions whatsoever of the Sovereign Pontiff, before the same be put in execution.

As to the first, his Holiness flatters himself that the Government of

Great Britain would by no means exact from the Catholics any other oath but such as, whilst it gives to the Government itself a still surer pledge of the fidelity of the Catholics, may, at the same time, neither clash in the least with the principles of the Catholic religion, nor cast any affront upon the same most holy religion of Christ. In case the aforesaid Act of Emancipation be enacted so as *in every respect* (omnino) to be favourable to the Catholics, his said Holiness will permit them to take that one of the following forms of oath, which the Government shall think most advisable; for each of them seems perfectly calculated to answer both the above mentioned ends, and therefore cannot but satisfy the Government.

The first is as follows: I swear and promise upon the holy Evangelists, obedience and fidelity to his Royal Majesty, George the Third. I also promise that I will not hold any communication, be privy to any plot, or keep up any suspicious connexion, either at home or abroad, to injure the public peace; and if it shall come to my knowledge, that any thing is projecting, either in my diocese or elsewhere, to the prejudice of the state, I will reveal the same to Government.

The second runs thus: I swear and promise that I will continue faithful and entirely subject and obedient to his Royal Majesty, George the Third, and that I will not in anywise disturb the peace and tranquillity of this realm, nor give any aid or assistance to any person, who either directly or indirectly may be an enemy to his Majesty and the present Government of England.

The third: I swear and promise obedience and true fidelity to our most beloved Lord, George the Third, whom I will, with all my might, defend against all conspiracies, assaults, or attempts whatsoever against his person, crown and dignity; and if it shall come to my knowledge that any such are forming against him, I will reveal the same to his aforesaid Royal Majesty. Moreover, I also faithfully swear and promise, that I will, with all my might, preserve, support and defend the succession of the Crown in the family of his Majesty, against any person or persons whatsoever, within or without the realm, who may boast or pretend a right to the Crown thereof.

Hitherto of the oath. Now of the election of bishops.

With regard to the latter, his Holiness first most earnestly exhorts and absolutely commands those, whose custom it is to name to vacant sees the persons to be presented and recommended to the Holy See, to use the utmost care and diligence, that such only be admitted into the number of candidates, who to their other pastoral virtues join the most conspicuous prudence, love of peace, and fidelity to his Royal

Majesty. Moreover, although any one of the proposed forms of oath to be taken by the newly elected bishops may be more than sufficient to content the Government, nevertheless for the greater satisfaction of the said Government, his said Holiness will not hesitate to *permit that those, to whom it appertains, may exhibit a list of the candidates to the King's Ministers, in order that Government, if perchance any of them be disliked or suspected, may immediately point out the same, to have him expunged*, but so as that a sufficient number may remain for his Holiness, out of which to elect those whom he may judge in the Lord most worthy to govern the vacant churches.

As soon, therefore, as the Legislature of Great Britain shall promulgate, in due and authentic form, its aforesaid Act of Emancipation, conformable to the sentiments of his Holiness as above expressed, with which I presume the British Government is already acquainted, his Holiness will on his part likewise send a timely brief to all the Catholic bishops and faithful of Great Britain, in which he will publish to the universe his sense of gratitude towards the clemency and generosity of the most powerful British Government, will exhort the Catholics, especially after this newly received favour, to adhere with still more fervent loyalty to their august King, and finally, in a solemn form will *permit* them to observe what I have hitherto stated with regard to the oath and the election of bishops.

As to the revision of rescripts, of which mention is made by me in the head of this letter, or, as it is termed, "The Royal Exequatur," it cannot become the subject even of a discussion. For the same, as your Lordship well knows, being essentially injurious to the liberty of that superintendence of the Church, which is of divine appointment, it would be truly criminal to allow or concede it to the lay power; and in fact it has never been permitted to any country. For if some, even Catholic Governments arrogate such powers to themselves, that is to be attributed not to the right exercise of due authority, but to an abuse; which, to prevent greater evils, the Holy See is forced, it is true, to endure and tolerate, but can by no means sanction. However, that no injury or danger whatsoever is to be dreaded in England to the public peace or his Royal Majesty from this indispensably necessary independence of the Supreme Head of the Church in feeding and instructing the flock of the Lord, besides other most evident proofs, which it would be tedious to specify and which are most notorious, the following circumstance alone should be a sufficient security, namely, that the object in question is fully provided for by the very method prescribed to the bishops and vicars apostolic, which is to be found in Article 1. of

the "Questionarium," published by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, where they are severely prohibited from inserting in the reports, which they are bound to send to the Holy See touching their respective churches, any thing that may regard the political state of the country. Hence it is to be confidently hoped that the Government will by no means persevere in its determination on this head, since the Church cannot yield her right, and the exercise of such a right, as constant experience shows, is in nowise injurious to Government.

To conclude, I have been induced to give you the above statement from a view, that the same may serve as a rule of conduct to your Lordship, whom in the mean time I heartily pray the most bountiful and almighty God to bless with a prosperous journey and abundance of every happiness.

LAURENCE CARDINAL LITTA,
Prefect of the Congregation for the
Propagation of the Faith.

To the Right Rev. WM. POYNTER,
Bishop of Halia and Vicar Apostolic of the London District.

At Genoa, 26th of April, 1815.

FINIS.



